# CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

107th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

(190)

JANUARY 1972

FROM L. OF N. TO U.N.
Vernon Bartlett

RHODESIA—A FAIR SETTLEMENT?
Patrick Wall, M.P.

SOME ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS
Lady Gardiner

A MYSTERY: A SHORT STORY
James Hanley

and many other articles together with an eleven-page Literary Supplement.

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The Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor, Sir Edward Howard, Bt.

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## BEHIND THE MONETARY CRISIS

### by Neil T. Houston

BRITAIN has come to terms with Europe, but Europe has not come to terms with the United States of America and Japan. International trade and monetary relations are in considerable disarray. Technical discussion of these complex matters does little to clarify the meaning of events for most people. Since this state of affairs is likely to continue well into the future, it is perhaps worthwhile to risk a simplified presentation that will provide a perspective from which to watch future manoeuvres by the major trading countries.

On August 15, 1971, President Nixon announced that the United States would no longer exchange gold for dollars, imposed a ten per cent surcharge on about half of U.S.A. imports, and instituted other measures tending to reduce the very large current deficit in the U.S.A. balance of payments. Even though money markets had been unstable for several months, these announcements came as a distinct surprise, and they signalled that some drastic actions would have to be taken by other countries as well. Subsequent official pronouncements and meetings, and their attendant publicity, have largely focused on the U.S.A. balance of payments and currency exchange rates, obscuring a more fundamental problem that worries all the western trading nations and prevents an easy resolution of the present 'crisis.'

Its balance of payments deficit is not a significant problem to the United States. The country will never lack the means to buy what it needs from abroad. What the United States presently lacks is sufficient employment opportunities for its people. The President is under severe pressure to reduce a level of unemployment that is unacceptably high in terms of social cost to the nation and political survival for the adminis-

tration. He is under pressure to alleviate the competition from imports that is making life difficult for important American industries.

Unfortunately, the trading partners of the United States are also suffering in varying degrees from the unemployment problem, whether it be over a million out of work as in Britain, a desire to maintain a prosperity to which they have become accustomed as in Germany and Japan, or the desperate need to employ vast numbers of young people and peasants as in the less developed countries of the world.

The importance of exchange rates and trade restrictions now the subject of international negotiations comes from their effects on employment. When a nation buys more from abroad than it sells, this tends to depress business activity and employment; when it sells abroad more than it buys, there is a tendency for employment to rise. The United States has said that it needs to improve its balance of payments by $13,000 million. This can be translated as meaning that the country needs to create a large number of jobs. As the value of the dollar falls relative to other currencies, it is less attractive for Americans to import and more attractive to produce goods at home. The ten per cent surcharge on imports has the same effect. However, this means less exports from other countries and a tendency for employment in other countries to contract. Therefore, it is easy to see why other nations are less than eager to participate in improving the U.S.A. balance of payments.

It is necessary to express the relation between employment and the balance of payments in terms of tendencies rather than assured results, because employment is influenced simultaneously by other factors that may be strong enough to offset the influence of the balance of payments. Nevertheless, when a government is attempting to stimulate employment it does not welcome a depressing tendency that will at least weaken the effectiveness of measures undertaken to generate jobs.

The connection between the balance of payments and employment also serves to explain why the European countries for several years made ritual complaints about the U.S.A. deficit, which has been conspicuous since the early 1960s, without taking any action on their own parts to stop the phenomenon to which they objected. The Americans were accused of exporting their own internal inflation by spending abroad large quantities of dollars that tended to drive up prices in other countries. Many of these dollars were used for direct investment by American companies to create European affiliates, leading to fears of too much American control of business. Yet all found it pleasant to see sales increasing and profits rising, and there were no volunteers to stop selling to Americans and to stop receiving dollars.

Not until currency speculation became too large to handle in May, 1971, was the Deutschemark allowed to float up relative to the dollar, thus discouraging German exports. Since President Nixon acted in August to curtail American spending abroad, the painful aspects of smaller exports by other countries have been openly acknowledged. Canada, which supplies one-fourth of U.S.A. imports, is already com-

bating an unemployment rate of about seven per cent and is alarmed and resentful at this additional complication. Germany fears a full-fledged recession, and the Common Market Commission has estimated that the Nixon measures will cost the E.E.C. some 300,000 jobs. Japan is faced with accepting a major reduction in its economic growth rate.

With the fundamental problem of employment at stake, it is small wonder that other countries have been reluctant to make major revaluations of their currencies against the dollar in order to reduce sales to the United States and to other countries that do not revalue. Currency values are still being managed to some extent by the various governments, leading to the term 'dirty float' to indicate behind-the-scenes intervention in the exchange markets.[1] Britain is caught between pressure for sterling to rise in association with the yen and Continental currencies and an obvious need to stimulate exports while unemployment is at critical levels.

Although the pattern of exchange rates commands a great deal of attention, it is not the main question. The real question that the nations must answer is who will sell how much of what to whom. This is the question because the answer influences the jobs of British engineers, German Volkswagen makers, U.S.A. textile workers, Japanese electronics fabricators and thousands of others.

Currency exchange rates are only one means of influencing imports and exports and by themselves can solve nothing. In addition to ordinary customs tariffs, a vast number of special measures to limit trade exist throughout the world. By threatening to impose legal restrictions, the United States has forced Japan and other countries to agree to limit their sales of textile products in the U.S. market. Such agreements are euphemistically called 'voluntary' quotas, and they are being applied to other products as well. To avoid possible legal restrictions, Japan has already attempted to assure the European nations that it will not try to sell unreasonable amounts of steel in Europe as a result of limitations on the U.S. market. The Common Agricultural Policy of the E.E.C. effectively limits imports of cheap food and animal feed from the United States and elsewhere. Labelling laws, sanitary regulations, special tax treatment and differential pricing policies can be applied in many ways to restrict imports and to promote exports.

The recent ten per cent surcharge was imposed by the United States largely as a bargaining counter for negotiations, and the United States has already indicated that its interest in such negotiations goes beyond currency exchange rates to the other measures as well.

The need to develop a complex package of inter-related actions prevents a lasting agreement on currency values before other matters are settled. The scope of negotiations could become extremely broad, because the costs of military defence in Europe and of aid to developing countries are also factors in the overall flow of money and goods.

There is no way in which a solution can be derived on purely technical grounds. In October, technicians from the Group of Ten major indus-

trial nations met in Paris to consider the currency problem. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development provided an analytical paper as a basis for discussion. The country representatives finally concluded that, within a wide range of possibilities, a settlement would have to be reached on the basis of political decisions. They then adjourned to await a meeting at higher levels of authority. The reason that political decisions are required is simply that there is no solution in which all parties can gain. There must be losers as well as winners in a rearrangement of trade, aid and defence, and such bargains can only be made in consideration of overall national interests.

Despite their professed allegiance to the principles of international co-operation, nations must be expected to act in their own self-interest. Short run problems at home can appear to outweigh the long run advantages of international specialisation and trade. In attempting to deal with its own problems of unemployment and inflation, the United States aggravated problems already existing in other nations, which must now respond in ways best suited to their varying national interests. The danger is that nations seeing their exports reduced by the actions of other countries will find it necessary to reduce their imports, thus provoking further actions by the other countries, and so on. The trading nations fell into such a vicious circle forty years ago, at the time of the Great Depression. The unfortunate consequences have been recalled in recent discussions, and the nations have affirmed the need to avoid a repetition in the present crisis. Whether they can do so remains to be seen.

In a trade war, the United States would be in a stronger position than other countries owing to the diversity of its domestic economy. Imports are only about four per cent of the gross domestic product, and most are imported as a matter of convenience rather than necessity. In contrast, the much smaller economy of Japan is the world's largest importer of oil and metals and is dependent on these and other raw materials from abroad to sustain its industry and population. Imports are about 20 per cent of gross domestic product in Britain, where a reduction in trade would be strongly felt. The United States could solve its problem of employment in an environment of shrinking international trade; the other nations would find it much more difficult to do so.

In concentrating on the employment aspects of the present crisis, the foregoing discussion has omitted reference to the other economic problem that plagues the trading countries, namely inflation. All countries are concerned with the phenomenon of rising prices, which is creating domestic social problems as well as disturbing international trade and monetary relations. In those countries where prices have risen most, there is the greatest incentive to import cheaper goods from abroad. There is also the greatest difficulty in maintaining the volume of exports to other countries. The opposite effects occur where prices have risen least.

Germany and Japan have been more successful than other major

countries in limiting inflation. Therefore, with exchange rates unchanged, it is apparent why their exports have flourished. They are now under the strongest pressures from other countries to revalue their currencies as the nations seek a rearrangement of trade to deal with their employment problems. It is also apparent that as long as inflation proceeds at different rates in the several countries there are likely to be recurring pressures to adjust exchange rates.

One thing that appears to have emerged from the present crisis is a clarification of the position of gold. The mystique that historically has surrounded gold now seems largely dissipated. When President Nixon announced that the United States would no longer supply gold in exchange for dollars, this only acknowledged officially a condition of long standing. For practical purposes, the dollar had been inconvertible for years. Liquid claims of foreigners against the United States so greatly exceed its gold stock that foreign central banks have simply refrained from asking for gold to avoid precipitating a crisis. Occasional demands for gold by France to demonstrate that country's continued interest in the metal were small enough not to be troublesome. Since the initial psychological impact wore off, it has become more widely recognised that the value of a currency depends on what it will buy in a wide range of goods and services and that gold is just a metal useful for certain industrial and dental purposes. Other currencies are floating in relation to the dollar, not because the dollar is no longer convertible, but because a change in the pattern of trade is required, and the new pattern has not yet been agreed upon.

As 1971 draws to a close, the atmosphere of crisis that characterised the spring and summer is wearing away. Floating currencies have not brought the world to a halt, nor have basic problems been solved. While the trading nations are beset with the internal problems of unemployment and inflation it is difficult to see how lasting stability in trade and monetary relations can be achieved. The best that can be hoped is a protracted period in which adjustments are kept small enough to allow each nation to accommodate to change without too much internal stress. Eventually, the United States must accept a substantial surplus of imports over exports if it wants to receive dividends and interest from its investments abroad, but that is another matter.

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[Neil T. Houston is a United States citizen resident in Britain. M.A. Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Ph.D., Harvard University. Consultant in applied economics research.]

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[1] After this article had been written, a new pattern of fixed exchange rates for the major currencies was announced, as a result of the meeting of the Group of Ten in Washington on December 18-19. However, trade agreements necessary to ensure dualability of these rates have not yet been reached.

# OLOF PALME FACES SWEDISH REALITIES

## by Francis P. Walsh

'THE Kennedy of Sweden—Europe's Most Exciting Politician'—so ran the headlines around the world in 1969 when Olof Palme, aged 42, became the continent's most boyish head of government.

How is the Kennedy today, a little more than one general election later? Does Sweden want—or need—exciting politicians?

Snappy headlines are one thing, inflation and strikes quite another. If Palme had been up for election by the international media, the results would have been quite different from those in the general election last Fall when his party pulled its poorest poll but one since it came to power forty years ago.

The Social Democrat share of the votes dropped by nearly 5 per cent from the preceding general election—a lot for Sweden. In April, 1971, public opinion polls indicated that the Government's popularity had waned—or its unpopularity waxed—by a further 5 per cent. Among party supporters, the percentage who felt 'great confidence' in their chief flopped between last August and January from 79 to 56, but in May reached 80 again.

To some, Olof Palme does not look or sound right for a Labour leader. His father was upper middle class, his mother a Latvian 'von', and his wife is a Swedish aristocrat. He came up the soft way, went to one of the very few public schools in Sweden—which is no advantage for any career but a comedian's in this equalitarian land.

Olof Palme is the only 'international' Swedish politician. He has also been called Saint-Just, Nehru and Napoleon of the North by visiting newsmen. The Swedish press finds other epithets, from the zoo and ornithological worlds. Palme is an eager beaver with a snaky smile; he has an aquiline nose and diverse characteristics suggestive of the wasp or the weasel!

In his late teens, Palme claims, he already had a keen interest in Socialism. He studied for a year in Ohio, then took a long hitchhike tour to probe the problems of the South. Back in Sweden, he studied law and helped to found an organisation to replace the International Union of Students which, he considered, had fallen to the Communists. He grew no fonder of them when they prevented him from reaching the microphone at a conference in Prague in 1949. He even went through a brief marriage with a Czech student to get her out of the country!

Palme's military service, after the university, included several months' travel in South-East Asia, which gave him some inkling of the underdeveloped areas. On his return, in 1953, came the big opportunity.

Prime Minister Tage Erlander was understaffed and tired; he needed a private secretary. Someone recalled Palme as leader of a student delegation. Erlander was impressed by his mental agility. From then on he was the Premier's right- (or perhaps left-) hand man, up through the

hierarchy of state secretary and ministerial posts to the top job which he obtained, with an appearance of unwillingness, at the Social Democrat convention in October, 1969.

Few questioned his ability. The desert of long-time opposition was no place for such a smart young man; but the tags of opportunism and power-greed stuck to his idealistic image. He lacked contact with the old guard of trade unionists and local politicians—had not learned to slap backs or crack jokes, though he is not short on wit. Describing negotiations with the opposition recently, he said he felt like an angler sitting on a pier in the country and looking down into a tin of worms.

Palme has often been accused of looking down. When the Centre Party's Gunnar Hedlund called a certain person 'Erlander's ward', and then went on to characterise the difference between two Government alternatives as that between pest and cholera, this was aggressive language for Sweden. But no one, or almost no one, simulated shock. Hedlund is the image of a solid Swedish farmer.

Between the various incidents that have drawn criticism—for instance, pushing his way through a military column on Gotland—Palme has polished up his image as a quiet, kindly and unassuming person. He lives in what appears to be an ordinary suburban terrace house; his name appears in the telephone directory. Erlander's wife worked as a teacher, so Palme's wife works, or appears to work, half-time as a child psychologist. He has worn cuffs, like the have-nots. He has thick hair which he wears brushed forwards, like the TV-have-nots. He is very much a TV-politician.

Nor has he neglected to calm those who predicted that Palme as Premier would be impossible, with frequent reassurances that it is not himself but the Party that matters and is responsible for policy.

From his own election to the general election one year later he 'lay low', putting off the rejuvenation of the Government until the end of the period. People joked that Palme was Premier in the Government of Sträng, the Minister of Finance. Trips to foreign capitals and a youthful line on Vietnam kept his international image in shape but did not help with home problems like inflation, rising prices and an adverse balance of trade.

The opposition's election programme included easier credits for industrial expansion, help for the farmers, prevention of environmental pollution, decentralisation of industry and more say for the 'little man' in decisions affecting him at work and elsewhere, which would be the result of the State's keeping its fingers out of the pie.

Palme called for a 'stronger State' which, many feared, meant a stronger Palme. This too would benefit the little man.

Three weeks before the election a price-freeze was imposed.

The election knocked the Social Democrats from a comfortable majority to a minority of 163 seats in the new 350-seat unicameral parliament. The three non-socialist parties won 170 seats and the Communists 17.

The Communist leader, C. H. Hermansson, stated before the election that he would never contribute to the downfall of a socialist government. Palme is thus assured of Communist support on essential issues and can hardly be called a prisoner.

Then came the question of party representation on the 16 parliamentary committees, which is traditionally settled by discussion. Palme offered the non-socialist opposition a majority on four. They rejected this, claiming a majority on eight, corresponding to their share of the electorate. In the end they got a majority on none. The Communists came in instead.

It is possible that the Social Democrats are on the way up again from their dumps in early March, 1971. At that time, wage negotiations with the State employees had broken down, the ridiculous spectre of a lock-out of army officers was looming, unemployment increasing, the farm front unusually unquiet. The new tax system brought relief to less than the promised two-thirds of the taxpayers. A tax on newspaper advertisements and poor results from State-owned companies drew criticism.

With the new deflationary trend, unemployment is increasing and may well be the big issue in the next general election; but the Government has begun to tackle the other problems. It put on a strike-freeze by means of a law resembling the Taft-Hartley in the United States; produced better balance of trade and currency reserve figures for the fourth month running; cut the discount rate and promised industry (export and import-competing) easier credits; planned to decentralise 6,000 civil servants by moving them to the provinces; put up the prices of farm products and published a welcome statement that Sweden was no longer interested in full membership of E.E.C. Here, as on the strike-freeze and advertisement-tax issues, the Government obtained Centre Party co-operation.

'Palme, the Unco-operative' then became Palme, the Weak and Confused for the Liberals and Conservatives. They accused the Centre Party of horse-trading. Now, after a brief hope of unity following their election success, the opposition is as split as ever. Centre leader Hedlund has retired recently, and they have no bright new name. The Social Democrats skim the best ideas to keep just ahead.

And Palme personally?

Had he begun with as little ballyhoo as Erlander in 1946. . . . But he came in on a wave of expectation, strikes and inflation, and got the blame. Partly, because of his un-Swedish personality.

Lately, there have been signs of mellowing 'co-operation', more verbal restraint and fewer Kennedy-visions. Erlander is still in Parliament, available for advice. Palme is the ablest young politician around, and under his alert leadership the Social Democrats may be able to pull up their socks and scrape through once again in 1973.

# FROM L. OF N. TO U.N.

## by Vernon Bartlett

EACH one of us is unique, but it so happens that in one respect I can claim to be more unique than others. I attended the first Assembly of the League of Nations in 1920, its last working Assembly (when it met in the war to expel the U.S.S.R. for its invasion of Finland), its final meeting (in 1946, when it handed over its assets to the United Nations), and the first meeting of the United Nations Assembly in that same year. This conjunction of chance and old age perhaps justifies an attempt to analyse what has gone wrong with these two organisations, and the imminent appointment of a new Secretary-General of the United Nations, the world's most important civil servant, seems to be a suitable moment to make the attempt.

One thing that has gone wrong—as I hope to show—is that, understandably but mistakenly, most members of the U.N. Secretariat have tended to disown the League of Nations as the parent organisation. It failed, so they want as little association with it as possible. I maintain that they should emphasise this relationship, for it is immensely important to realise that the war was only an interruption—a terribly tragic interruption—in the steady development of international co-operation. To see how far we have come, we should look back to the beginning, not of the United Nations, but to that of the League of Nations.

My heroes failed, and are forgotten. For me, the saddest place in Geneva is the Café Bavaria where, half a century ago, delegates and journalists used to sit, evening after evening, telling each other through the tobacco smoke how the world ought to be run. Cartoons of the League's great men still hang round the walls, but the people who drink and discuss there nowadays pay as little attention to these cartoons as to the advertisements for rival beers or aperitifs.

But *did* they fail, these men? Nobody could deny that the world is in an appalling political and social mess, but how much worse the mess would be had they not lived! In a history of the League of Nations, published some twenty years ago, Frank Walters, at one time its Deputy Secretary-General, wrote that it had 'involved a forward leap of unprecedented extent and speed, accompanied by extraordinary changes in the conduct of international relations. Before the League, it was held both in theory and practice that every state was the sole and sovereign judge of its own acts, owing no allegiance to any higher authority, entitled to resent criticism or even questioning by other states. Such conceptions have disappeared for ever; it is not doubted, and can never again be doubted, that the community of nations has the moral and legal right to discuss and judge the international conduct of each of its members. A new respect for the rights of small nations, a new understanding of the need for co-operation in social and economic affairs, the habit of public debate on even the gravest diplomatic issues, the formation of an

international civil service—these are examples of the immense innovations brought about in a period of less than twenty years.'

The new Secretary-General will be judged by his authority over this international civil service. We all know only too well about the absurd resolutions often passed by the Assembly and the inability to reach decisions in the Security Council unless the super-powers happen for once to be in agreement. We tend to overlook those international officials whose job is not to initiate policy, but to make as reasonable as possible the policy adopted by the representatives of countries in every part of the world and at every stage of development. They provide the thread of continuity in international life as essential as that provided by the civil service inside each nation, despite political upheavals of every kind. Doubtless, the United Nations Secretariat is far too large, for every Member State expects it to include some of its own nationals, even when it lacks enough educated men effectively to run its own administration. Also, a far greater proportion of the officials of the United Nations lacks a sense of dedication to a great cause than was the case in the League—it could hardly be otherwise, for we of the League had barely ended a war that was to end war, whereas those of the U.N. have had most of the idealism knocked out of them by a second world war. Nevertheless, these men and women of so many nationalities, working year after year in the service of this international organisation, have developed a tradition and a degree of loyalty which constitute one of the most helpful assets in times of the non-war we have to call peace.

Whenever I see a United Nations conference at work, my mind goes back to the first Assembly of the League, more than fifty years ago. It met in an ugly building called the Salle de la Réformation, and the delegates' entry was through a small, third-rate hotel called the Hotel Victoria, now pulled down. Instead of the elegant and impressive lounges such as one expects to find at any important conference, the only place where these statesmen could meet informally was in the tiny bar of the hotel. But the Salle de la Réformation and the Hotel Victoria continued to house the League Assembly for the next nine years.

Its delegates had expected something better, but at the last moment the United States, whose President, Woodrow Wilson, had done more than anyone else to create the League, had decided not to join it, and then, as now, everybody looked to the United States to provide much of the money. Consequently, cash was very short and, year after year, members of the Financial Committee of the Assembly used to damn the League, the International Labour Organisation and the World Court at the Hague for their alleged extravagance. And yet the average annual cost of these three bodies in the years between the two world wars was about 27 million gold francs, or 5,400,000 dollars, and this sum had to include the cost of building the present Palais des Nations in Geneva. As far as I can work it out, the present annual British contribution to the U.N., the International Labour Organisation and the various specialised agencies is not far short of £6,000,000, and that sum is paid with far less grumbling than was the

British contribution to the League, which averaged rather less than £150,000 a year.

Now, those figures seem to be very significant and important. Nobody likes paying taxes, especially if the money is to be spent outside his own country. The difference between those two figures—£6,000,000 and £150,000—shows how public opinion has come to understand that an international organisation of governments, whether you like it or not, has come to stay. Certainly a lot of its money and a lot of its activities are wasted, but it is significant that electorates round the world should have agreed to waste it not on armaments, but on activities that are likely to make armaments less important.

It is not only public opinion that has changed. Almost as important has been the change in the attitude of civil servants. After the first world war, in most countries—but possibly in Britain more than elsewhere—diplomats were treated as very special human beings, and few ventured to criticise their treatment of foreign affairs. Most of these 'sacred cows' bitterly resented the development of an international civil service consisting almost entirely of non-career officials. I know, for during a decade I was the chief League official in London. Very fortunately, the first Secretary-General of the League, Sir Eric Drummond, had himself been an important Foreign Office official. In his day, many of us criticised him for his timidity; I am inclined now to believe that his patient efforts to wear down this jealous hostility was one of the principal reasons why the United Nations came to be accepted—almost welcomed—after the second world war.

Things had started badly for the League. President Wilson had led Sir Eric to expect great American help in its establishment. The American decision not to join—reached mainly because Mr. Wilson, a Democrat, had failed to include important Republicans in his delegation to Paris—encouraged Mr. Harding, the Republican who replaced him at the White House, to declare that the League was dead, and many who attended that first Assembly believed that it would also be the last. The Swiss referendum on membership of the League had resulted in so small a favourable majority that Swiss promises of hospitality became alarmingly vague. In the absence of a better home, Sir Eric had to hurry from London to Geneva to buy the disused Hotel National for five and a half million gold francs, and he obtained possession on November 1, 1920, only a few days before the first Assembly was due to meet. The first telegram about the League I sent to *The Times* of London was a description of this building, with its entrance hall crammed with carpenters and bits of furniture, office files and typewriters. There was not even time to remove the baths from the upstairs rooms. In all the muddle, members of the new Secretariat, many of whom had just been appointed, were introducing themselves to each other and trying to find out which bedrooms were to be the offices of the various sections.

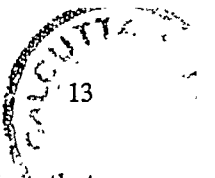
The international routine is by now so well-established that it is hard to realise what amateurs we all were half a century ago. The Council

and the Assembly had to make their own rules as they went along, for there had never been a peace-time Council and Assembly before. Inevitably, the Paris Peace Conference that had imposed treaties on Germany and her associates influenced the new Assembly, although its purpose was so different. The committee charged by this Peace Conference with the preparation of a League Covenant at first consisted of ten representatives of the Great Powers with five representatives of the lesser allies. No neutrals, no ex-enemies and, of course, no Bolshevik Russia. Following strong protests, four more small allies were admitted to the committee, but the Great Powers had dominated at the Peace Conference and most obviously expected to do so in the League Assembly.

They failed. Despite all the silly resolutions currently put before the Assembly of the United Nations, thank God they failed. This was the first opportunity given to the smaller nations to express their views on war and peace, and they were determined not to be silenced. They started a debate on all kinds of subjects, to the loud indignation of the Great Powers, and this general debate set a precedent, carried on to this day, whereby delegates of even the smallest and weakest nations can express their views to the world. These views are not often very important, but occasionally they are. The world has lasting reason to be grateful, for example, to Dr. Nansen, the Norwegian explorer, for his initiatives, taken half a century ago, on behalf of stateless persons, and to Dr. Pardo of Malta, whose speech in the 1966 Assembly of the U.N. triggered off the international campaign against the pollution of the seas.

This precedent, then, seemed to be a valuable one. And yet it contained the seeds of failure. At least a dozen Member States (including Malta) have a population of less than 1,000,000, as against nearly 250,000,000 in the U.S.S.R. and nearly 210,000,000 in the United States (to say nothing of some 760,000,000 in China). With the recognition of their independence has come the right to make themselves heard in the Assembly, and if the things they say about countries much larger and more advanced are often very rude, no very great harm is done. But the fact that they have the same voting rights as the super-powers is the most dangerous example yet invented of the mistaken belief that the counting of heads is necessarily a form of democracy. It most certainly is not so when the heads to be counted are those of governments, and not of the individuals whom those governments are supposed to serve. Equality between governments may involve appalling and ridiculous inequality between individuals.

This danger was, of course, obvious to the committee that drafted the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was even more obvious to the committee that drafted the Charter of the United Nations. In both cases an attempt to lessen the danger was made by giving the governments with outstanding responsibility, wealth and experience the status of permanent members of the Council. In the case of the U.N., these permanent members could also impose a veto on action that they, or



one of them, considered inadvisable.

This seemed to be a fair compromise between the obvious fact that certain states had far greater burdens of responsibility than others and the equally obvious fact that even the smallest states should have some degree of control over policies that might involve them in war. But, however good the intention, this business of one government one vote has been a disaster. It has led to the adoption by the Assembly of scores of resolutions so unpractical that probably far more people throughout the world now think of the U.N. rather as an organisation which stimulates bad feeling between nations than as one which, in every week throughout the year, brings together many of the world's greatest experts interested in what General Smuts termed the 'ordinary, peaceful life of civilisation'.

The disaster has been magnified by another development for which, at the time, there seemed to be a fairly sound moral justification. That development resulted from the exaggerated use by the U.S.S.R. of the right of veto. When the invasion of South Korea began in 1950, the Russians vetoed action by the Security Council to put an end to the war. The non-communist governments, with the United States in the lead, devised an ingenious way to operate the United Nations machinery in the interest of peace — since the Security Council was hamstrung — then hand the problem over to the Assembly, where no right of veto exists. The Assembly did, in fact, help to check that war, but at a far greater cost than anybody realised at the time.

For, as already mentioned, the Assembly contains states which, through no fault of their own, are appallingly inexperienced. It is too often forgotten that war is a form of revolution. Men threatened with death in the front line maintain their courage by the thought that they will make the world a better place when the fighting is over, and every government encourages them in that thought. But when the fighting *is* over, the men come home to find that much of the nation's wealth has, quite literally, gone up in smoke, and a revolutionary situation arises. The first world war produced the overthrow of several monarchies and the Russian October Revolution. The second world war produced a welfare state in Britain and the decision of the coloured majority in Africa and Asia that it was no longer going to be ruled by the white minority — one of the most signficant decisions since the birth of Christianity, with its claim that every individual, however poor and humble, had one immensely important asset, which is called his soul.

It is clear that one country cannot develop a welfare state for its own people, and yet for long forbid all share in government to the people in its dependencies. Also, admittedly, fear of revolt contributed to the decision of Britain and other colonial powers to divest themselves of their colonies in such haste. However unprepared they might be, the subject peoples of Africa and Asia suddenly found they were independent, with membership of the United Nations to prove it. The motive for giving them this independence was basically sound and moral.

For the Assembly, suddenly faced with the problem of Korea, was crowded with delegates from new and inexperienced states. While they had talked during the General Assembly debate and left action to the members of the Council, their contribution was mainly a useful one— for one thing, they widened the horizon of delegates who thought that Europe and North America were designed, by God and/or Mammon, to dominate the world. But now these delegates from the Third World, from the poorer producers of primary products, were flattered by the sudden importance attributed to them by the Great Powers. Their votes were sought after. They would have been exceptionally stupid — which they were not — had they failed to use their votes to their own advantage. Too many leaders of this so-called Third World have become salesmen of votes to the highest bidder, or politicians diverting public attention from the defects of their own governments to those of others, or idealists with their ideals unchecked by a sense of responsibility. And for that most of the blame must go to the Great Powers.

A depressing picture? Yes, but for two reasons it is not one that should make us despair. One is that these errors have been errors of commission, not of omission: the machinery of the League and of the U.N. — like any other machinery — may have been badly used, but by and large the governments, or most of them, were trying, on a scale never attempted before that first Assembly of the League, to do the right thing. The other reason is that 'the extraordinary changes in the conduct of international relations' introduced by the inception of the League half a century ago have continued to develop, despite a second world war — or, perhaps, because of it.

God knows there have been setbacks and defeats. For me, the greatest day of my life was in September, 1926, when the ex-enemy, Germany, became a member of the League. By general agreement, there was only one welcoming speech, and that was delivered by Aristide Briand, Foreign Minister of France and the finest orator I have ever heard. Nobody present could have failed to be moved when, speaking in that deep, rich voice, he cried: *Arrière les canons*! *Arrière les mitrailleuses*! *Place à la conciliation et la paix*! Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, was an ugly man with a bulging neck and a harsh voice. There was nothing much in his favour beyond his sincerity. But that sincerity was so obvious that his speech was almost as moving as Briand's. And for that one morning we all thought that, possibly, the war *had* been the war to end wars.

But I also remember that night session of the League Council, only a few years later, when the Chinese delegate made his despairing appeal for League action to prevent the threatened bombardment of Shanghai by the Japanese — a bombardment that began a few hours later. The Americans blamed the League and the League blamed the absent Americans, and many of us in that room that night realised that a second

world war had suddenly become a probability. As we all know now, the League failure in that Sino-Japanese dispute encouraged Mussolini to invade Ethiopia, and the League's failure in the Italo-Ethiopian dispute gave the green light to Hitler. Everything the League stood for had collapsed in ruins.

But not quite everything. A very small League staff continued to work throughout the second world war — some officials in the huge but almost empty Palais des Nations, some in the United States, some in Great Britain. An Irish Secretary-General, Sean Lester, managed to keep the technical and social services alive, and when the war was over they developed as never before. The small Health Section developed into the World Health Organisation in Geneva; the Nutrition Committee became the Food and Agricultural Organisation in Rome; the Permanent Mandates Commission developed into the Trusteeship Council (alas, with very different aims and standards). And so on. The Hotel National in Geneva, where it all began, is now dwarfed by the Palais des Nations and all the other immense and splendid buildings that are its offspring.

Human nature being what it is, the value of this quiet, constructive work is everywhere underestimated. In the old League days, I knew a journalist from the American Middle-West — a great frequenter of bars and night-clubs — who used to boast that he had a scar on his face for every peace conference he had attended. He complained to one League official that he wanted 'news, not facts'. Quarrels in the Security Council, with delegates insulting each other, are 'news'; constructive work by these great social and technical organisations are 'facts'.

In one last respect, the United Nations might appear to be even less promising than was its predecessor and parent. But for this there is a good reason. The U.S.A. was never a Member of the League, and the U.S.S.R. was a Member for only part of the time. It was easier to reach decisions when these two great and rival powers were absent, but their absence meant that these decisions were often ineffective. With them both at the same table in New York or Geneva, it is heartbreakingly difficult to reach agreements but, when they are reached, they are much more likely to be respected. With the admission of the Chinese the United Nations is likely to include every government in the world, and that will have one very important consequence — a basic, though possibly almost imperceptible, change in international behaviour.

For years to come, the successful diplomat may not be the man who furthers his government's policy in the politest possible language, but the man who makes his government's opponents look fools or crooks in front of the television cameras. But no government remains quite so bloody-minded if its ministers are brought into daily contact with ministers of dozens of other countries. Such words as 'lackeys', 'jackals' and 'paper tigers' begin to appear rather ridiculous when they are used about men whom one meets every day in committees or cocktail parties. One may even come to realise that they are not so very different from oneself, and that their motives are not necessarily so remote from one's

own — the main motive being to get the best deal one can for one's country without going to war. The mud-slinging of the early days of the United Nations is already losing its value as 'news'; economic, social and financial conditions are compelling its individual members to pay more attention to 'facts'.

Even before the second world war had ended, General Smuts wrote, in his *Practical Suggestions,* that the new League of Nations should be thought of 'not only as a possible means of preventing wars, but much more as a great organ of the ordinary, peaceful life of civilisation'. And that, despite the slapstick in the Security Council, is what is happening. Perhaps it is only if one remembers how much this 'ordinary, peaceful life of civilisation' has developed, through the League and the United Nations, over the quite respectable period of more than half a century that one can still look ahead with some faith, some hope, some charity.

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# A MYSTERY

## a Short Story

## by James Hanley

THERE was the bus, and the silence, and the three passengers. In the fast dying light of this long, dull, winter afternoon, the bus seemed too bright, too red, as it lay sprawled across the narrow street, itself deserted. This street was so narrow and so long that it suggested nothing more than a tunnel to the next street, and the next. There was no driver, and there was no conductor. There was no indicator. Only the low hum of the engine broke the curious silence. In the rear of the bus the three passengers sat stiffly erect. They stared straight ahead of them, and with some intensity, as though endeavouring to break through this strange atmosphere, but the heavily mist-covered windows locked them in, held them back. The electric bulbs cast a pale yellow light upon them. The very attitude of these people seemed to frame the questions. How long? How soon? And the engine went on humming. Perhaps driver and conductor were closeted in the worn wooden hut that stood rock-like against high black railings. Like the passengers they were perhaps only waiting for the hand of the watch to reach the totally exact minute. They may have sat there, their watches out, just waiting. The silence grew, and the light vanished. One wondered about this bus. Where was it going? When? To the next village, the next town, the next world? The passengers seemed not to know, and they were still waiting. The engine droned. Their very attitudes suggested a sublime patience, a strange indifference. The doors of the houses were fast shut, and now that the light had gone, the curtains drawn, it was as though the people in them had at last decided to shut out the too long day.

When the door of the hut finally opened an overcoated figure emerged, head bent, the man's features lost between high drawn up collar and pulled down peak of a very shiny hat. Since he at once moved into the driver's seat, and sat down, it was obvious that the conductor would soon follow. The passengers did not move. Like actors in a play they seemed as if still waiting for their cue. The conductor came out, raised his head, glanced up and down the street, suddenly yawned, then stepped quickly on to the platform. One caught a swift glance of the driver's face as he swung round and looked down the bus. The conductor rang the bell. The bus angled and crawled into position. There was as yet no indicator. Perhaps the conductor had quite forgotten it. On the other hand he may have been very certain of its destination, and had for the time being failed to notice his passengers. They still had an attitude, and they were still cast in stone. The conductor turned to them.

'Where to?'

'Station.'

The fares were paid, the tickets handed over, and the conductor

returned to his platform. The bus moved on into the winter evening.

Looking at these passengers one realised they were a family, father, mother and daughter. For their very own reasons they were seated on a Birmingham bus, and they knew where it was going. But there was still a heavy premium upon conversation. The conductor himself was powerfully aloof, rocking on his heels, and humming to himself. He held on to the iron bar whenever the bus turned a corner. Not once did he glance at his silent, and seemingly committed passengers. They scarcely glanced at one another, but continued to stare straight ahead, almost as though they struggled and yearned in silence for the first sight of their destination. Looking more closely one was suddenly aware that all three were uncomfortable. Their expressions united as one. One could only speculate. Sitting in that bus as fellow passenger, one felt that they could not be asked questions. There was totality of decision here, the expressions seemed to say, KEEP OFF. Of what were they thinking as they sat waiting for the bus to pull out, as it now sped noisily towards that station? One could only guess. On the seat in front of them lay their luggage. Two fibre suit-cases. Perhaps the mystery of their silent journey was locked up inside them.

One of the man's large hands rested on his daughter's shoulder. It was a big hand, a weighty sign of affection that the girl did not appear to resent. Neither hand nor shoulder had moved during that long wait. The mother's head was slightly tilted, and remained so, as though it had long been intent on reaching beyond the bus. The half closed eyes suggested a sudden moment of disgust, a hatred of the bus, and the atmosphere within it that seemed as heavy as stone. The small blue hat with its red feather, seemed even more determined to get clear of the locked atmosphere. By all standards the lady was large, and would evidently drape any seat upon which she sat. Her husband, and it could have been none other, was equally large, and he gave you a swift impression that in his lifetime he would never sit comfortably anywhere. One wondered at once about the man. Who was he? What was he?

A moulder in a foundry maybe, perhaps a body builder in a car factory. His suit, even under this light, was startling, its textures of slate and a quite vivid brown seemed to match his eyes. But one felt that the unduly heavy eyebrows would sometimes obscure the vision. The nose was shapeless; it also appeared to be boneless. The jaw was of an almost vivid blue. There lay in those features a suggestion of brutalised asceticism. The one visible hand upon the girl's shoulder seemed to proclaim the life. He breathed heavily, and perhaps suffered from asthma.

Suddenly the mother parted her lips and half smiled, but only for a moment. Her mouth appeared to be choked with teeth.

'What will she do?' She had at last spoken.

'I don't know,' the man said, and his granite-like bulk remained motionless. To the daughter no word was spoken. Maybe the last word had been said, maybe she was somewhere beyond the pale.

Silence again returned, and the deserts between them had grown again.

The girl was quite lost, remote in silence. Locked within these three was their own strange mystery. Why the expressions? Why the silence? These large, formidable parents were indomitable in their silence. One felt that no matter how uncomfortable life might be, they would batter their way through both circumstances and obstacle. Not so the daughter.

She could be eighteen, perhaps twenty. She was dressed in a frock so bright that it seemed forever challenging the outside darkness, and the weird, twilight-like atmosphere of this red bus. Had her expression suddenly changed, a fleeting movement? It *had* changed, and now it told more than that of either of her parents. She seemed no longer eighteen, and far from twenty. She has only just emerged from the jungle of her own childhood. Her hands, lying so comfortably, so still in her lap, the palm of one turned upwards to the yellow light, speak for themselves. The school gate has closed behind her, and she may soon work. Within this still silent creature another world seemed already breaking. For one so young she had that curious tired, even exhausted look that one sometimes sees upon the faces of growing children, and in the eyes themselves a kind of foreboding, a sudden innocence, a strange awareness of some forthcoming, inevitable plunge, perhaps into another kind of jungle, with thornier paths. Is this both dread of change, and acceptance of it?

Beyond the eyes there is nothing distinctive about her. The features seem without character. Mother and father appear uncomfortable. Is she? The red hands *crouch* in the lap. If she is tied, then it is to her own knowledge of this sudden break in the world. When the father turned slightly and spoke to her, one looked even closer at the girl.

'Who was it?'

Silence.

'What was his name?' asked the mother, and the words fell like stones into the silent bus. The destination cannot be far away, the parents have spoken.

'Was he . . .' the father said.

Silence.

'Did he . . .' said the mother.

Silence.

The girl stared harder, leaned forward, seemed straining, as though for some glimpse of the possible horizon. This girl will never be younger, and the threat is direct that she will always be older. There is a woman locked inside the child. These parents are judges, and the one between them has fallen from a great height.

The father's mouth begins to move, but nothing comes out. The words are knotted in his head. The mother turns. She gives her daughter a long, devastating look, and by it sentences both child and woman.

'Who is he?'

Silence.

And to the husband, and like a knife thrust.

'Have you nothing to say?'

'Nothing.'

One is certain that he has not, will never have.

The lights from shop windows now splash into the bus like water. The bus stops, and two people board it. It moves on, carrying its burden, its silence, its mystery.

Only once did the girl look at her parents, first one, and then the other. What does she think? What do they seem? These heavy parents, these weighty judges? Do they look sad? Or funny? Will her mother always be as large as she is in this moment, un-amiable, probing surgeon-like with one knife after the other? Who was he? What was his name? And how stolid, how weighty, how powerful, and how dumb the father. He will never be a clown. Perhaps her father was always a careful man, and perhaps he was always sure? If the woman within the daughter suddenly spoke, perhaps she might say very quietly 'You are lucky to be so sure.'

But she was not.

This calm, silent, dogged trio, locked securely within merciless decision, were being drawn nearer and nearer to a final destination, for already they could hear in the distance the whistle of trains, and the faint rattling of wagons in a goods yard. Then, and hardly quite realising it, the bus had pulled up outside the station. The daughter rose, picked up her suitcases, turned, and went on to the platform. She dropped heavily to the street. The mother and father followed, slowly, clumsily, as though as yet uncertain, terribly uncertain of something that would end. The daughter moved into the station, and they dragged behind. The suitcases pulled heavily upon the girl's hands, but they did not notice this. They noticed only the station, and the long train at the platform. There were many people about, hurrying and scurrying their ways. Here life sprawled. The girl went on, then suddenly stopped outside the compartment door, as though for a moment she was uncertain about going in. The parents stood by, stolid, remorseless in decision, forever uncertain of ways in, of ways round. For them the world was always full of barriers. The girl was beyond the barriers, beyond them, and the distance that lay between itself un-measurable. But the iron words remain. They wait for the daughter to sit down, to compose herself, to lay those red hands in a lap. And one after the other, armed with the words of iron, they grope inwards.

'Who was he?'

Silence.

And the mother, more blindly groping, 'Who was it?'

Silence.

One after another the carriage doors slammed. The guard hurried down, whistle in mouth. The porters stood and watched, and at the top of the platform an important looking station master was suddenly in conference with a perplexed passenger. The daughter stared out, and the parents stared in.

The mother seemed on the point of speaking, spoke:

'Is . . .' but the words died on her lips.

'You won't . . .' began the father.

Silence.

'Goodbye,' he said, and she took the hand that was proffered her, but did not speak.

'I wish, oh God I wish . . .' the mother said.

And the girl was silent.

'Stand back there,' cried the porter and they stood back. The train began to move. The mother made as if to wave, but didn't.

'I could cry,' she said.

'Don't,' said the father, 'don't' said the judge. And she did not. The train moved on, carrying with it the silent girl, and the strange, unfathomable mystery.

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[James Hanley is the author of *The Furys*, and *Say Nothing*. Two new novels, *A Woman in the Sky* and *Another World* will be published in 1972.]

The February issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes: *The Role of the City in the Common Market* by the Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor, Sir Edward Howard, Bt. DSc., *Industrial Relations—A Liberal View* by David Steel, M.P., *Research or Imagination* by Dame Margaret Cole and *The Misuse of Drugs in Modern Society* by A. R. K. Mitchell.

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# THE UNMARRIED FATHER

## by Fred Smith

THE man who, when he first heard the term 'Putative Fathers', thought it was 'Fugitive Fathers' was imagining what he expected to hear. The general picture of the man who fathers the illegitimate child is that of a shadowy figure who, having enjoyed his 'five-minutes-fun,' disappears.

Jane Rowe in her book *Parents, Children & Adoption*[1] has a chapter on 'The Unmarried Father'. She starts it thus: 'The discrepancy between four chapters on the unmarried mother, and only one on the unmarried father is typical of the public's lack of concern and the social work profession's lack of knowledge about the men who father illegitimate children.'

'The public's lack of concern.' For many reasons the public is unconcerned. It has its stereotype of the man in the case and generally speaking he is seen as the sexual exploiter, a carefree man (usually much older) who seduces the girl and then disappears. There is a good deal of the double standard still: 'with men it is different': 'sowing wild oats' is permissible, till the girl-friend becomes pregnant, then the man becomes the irresponsible aggressor.

Some years ago a national Sunday paper published a letter entitled 'the plea of an unmarried father'. The writer was asking for greater understanding; underneath the letter was the caption 'Could you feel sorry for him?' The following week there were more letters, some compassionate, some condemning, and a footnote 'Hundreds of you wrote in on this subject. 90 per cent of the letters were more sympathetic to the unmarried mother'.

Many social workers and welfare workers share the public's misconception about 'Unmarried Fathers', though to them he is the one who should be made to pay — his part in the business is only to be the provider — that is, of course, if you can catch up with him, but in many more cases than is generally supposed, you can, and you will find a troubled man, anxious for help.

The law reinforces this picture of the reluctant man. While we talk and write nowadays about 'the unmarried father' we are, strictly speaking, incorrect. The illegitimate child has no legal father—even in those thousands of cases where illegitimate children are living an apparently normal family life with both their natural parents, the law recognises no legal relationship between them and their fathers.[2] He is the 'putative', 'supposed' father and the onus is on the woman to prove his parenthood. The whole business of proving paternity is linked with financial support for the child in affiliation proceedings, and these proceedings are dealt with in the Domestic Section of the Magistrates' Court after the mother has taken out a complaint; and a summons to answer has been served on the man, often by a policeman in uniform. Since a man is 'innocent' till

proved 'guilty', he is encouraged by the law as it stands to deny responsibility.

Perhaps we need to re-think the whole process, recognising that it is not just a question of *unmarried mothers* and children, and reluctant, irresponsible men? In a much higher percentage of cases than we have hitherto believed, it is a question of *unmarried parents* and children.

What then is the Putative Father like? Jean Caughlin, an American writer, in an article entitled 'The Psychic Hazards of Unwed Paternity', writes 'Fatherhood can happen to men of all personality types and diagnostic categories, if they meet minimum requirements of age and initiative'.[3] My own experience with these fathers came while working as a social worker with the Chichester Diocesan Association for Family Social Work, a registered adoption agency, when I found myself for a number of years interviewing between sixty and seventy men a year. Some of them I got to know very well over a period of months. I found too that they were men of all types. Generalisations are as dangerous here as anywhere else.

In age they ranged from 15 to 65 with the majority, not surprisingly, between 19 and 25. I found an interesting correlation between age and admission of responsibility. The under 18's were sure they were responsible in 81 per cent of the cases; to them their relationships were more real; they were still likely to be in touch with the girl who had named them; some were sure they were in love with her; they were not yet as wordly-wise as their older brothers. The 19-24 age group admitted responsibility in only 65.3 per cent of cases, but at 25 and over they were maturing and becoming more thoughtful, so the admission rate rose to 70.7 per cent.

This means that around 70 per cent of all the men seen were prepared to admit paternity, having been previously told their position in law, and warned that they need not involve themselves, and ought not to, if they had the slightest doubt about their liability. So much for the generalisation of the irresponsible aggressor.

Their backgrounds ranged from professional men to the unskilled, some of whom were quite illiterate. There was a time when I thought that the better educated man was more likely to involve himself and accept responsibility than the one from a rough working class background. Careful examination of 300 case files showed in fact this was not so—the acceptance or denial of responsibility ran evenly, whatever the background.

In the majority of cases that came the way of our social work agency very few men had had only a casual relationship with the women. Most of them had known each other for some months and been 'going steady'. In a number of situations intercourse had not taken place until the friendship was on the point of breaking up—as if in a desperate attempt by one partner or the other to keep together. But the idea of a chance meeting between a man and a woman was just not the pattern met; frequently they had been friends for two to three years and in a high proportion

of cases the couple kept in touch throughout the pregnancy. On the other hand the number who married afterwards was small. If a couple are intending to marry and the girl becomes pregnant, they usually get married without delay and do not ask the help of a social worker.

What are the man's attitudes? The most important moment for him in this situation is when he is told the girl-friend is pregnant. It happens in all sorts of places, sometimes at home; over the phone at work; on top of a bus; in a public bar; 'the glass broke in my hand when she told me', said one lad who learned in this way.

Most men are shocked and unbelieving. It is a traumatic experience. At this point, the more immature man may say: 'How can I know it is mine?' without stopping to think of the effect this statement has on the girl, especially when their friendship has been a close one, and they've been seeing each other nearly every day and intercourse has taken place two to three times a week. The man often reasons that if the girl went with him, then why not with another man. Others, more sensitive, are profoundly shocked and deeply concerned about the woman and the future. A 16-year-old said: 'But she might die, mightn't she?'. Some at this point offer marriage, others are so disturbed they 'just don't know which way to turn'.

Their anxiety shows itself in many ways. In the days that follow the discovery they lose their appetites; smoke more; lose ability to concentrate (too bad if the news comes at the time of taking O or A levels); work or study is affected; they grow aggressive at home—one way their parents sometimes find out. Telling his parents is a real difficulty for the younger man, though many I have known have been able to go with the girl to face her parents while postponing telling their own. For the married man there is the dilemma over whether his wife should or should not know, or if by chance she will find out. Some men become so disturbed they lose their jobs through carelessness or literally run away. It is easier for some to run than for others. It depends on their work; single men who work in traditionally 'moving about' jobs—building, civil engineering—are more likely to move on. Others 'run away' in denial yet they are still very bothered men. The reasons for their denial may in some cases be justified. The relationship may not have been of long standing—the girl has a 'reputation'—but for some they feel that, though they must deny paternity, nevertheless they wish it could be their child; they have not proved their virility.

Few men, in my experience, showed no concern whatever about the women. They wanted to know what was going on and here they often felt isolated; 'no one tells me what is happening' was the regular complaint. Again with young men the attitude of the girl's parents is extremely important. Some would come between them and say they must not meet. If the girl was under age this could produce real problems, for the police may have cautioned the young man and told him to keep away, her parents also say 'keep away'. His parents say: 'Have nothing to do with her', but she writes every day, sends messages through friends, waylays

him from work and he wants and needs to give her support and help through this time for which he feels responsible.

The opposite situation happens where the girl, when she finds she is pregnant, totally rejects the young man. He finds this particularly frustrating and hard to understand. One day they have been going out happily together—they do not intend to marry, but he is seeing her and providing possibly emotional and financial support. Then without warning she turns on him. He phones to arrange a meeting and is told: 'I never want to see you again'. I can think of at least one man not far from a suicidal attempt after such an experience.

It is not surprising that the relationship between the man and the girl's father is frequently a difficult one, especially where the relationship between father and daughter has been a close one. Yet there are many situations where the man has been more helped by the girl's parents than by his own: just as his parents will often support the girl through the period of her pregnancy, even though marriage is not intended and this is accepted all round.

Many men were very proud of their children and went to see them in hospital, or at the foster parents' if the child was being offered for adoption. This was especially true of the men who had been able to remain in the picture right the way through and talk over with the girl the future for all the parties concerned. When this is possible his sense of guilt is lessened, and where able he makes a suitable financial contribution: if the woman keeps the child he either enters into a private agreement or agrees to be taken to court for an Affiliation Order to be made 'by Consent'. But he is not always 'able' to make a financial contribution; 15 per cent of all the men I saw were not fully gainfully employed, being either students or apprentices. For them the real anxiety was that they would be expected to maintain the child—'Must I leave my studies and get a job as a labourer?' one student asked. There are many in society who would answer 'yes' to that question.

Has the Putative Father any 'needs' peculiar to his situation? I think he has.

He needs to be treated seriously, as a person, in his own right and to make his own decisions after being given the legal and social implications of his actions. He needs to have the right to deny responsibility after he has thought out what denial means to himself, to the woman and to the child. He needs to be allowed, where he wishes, to involve himself fully in the decision-making process concerning the future of the child. For these he requires information about his rights as well as his responsibilities. He needs to know about the processes of adoption if this is being considered by the mother and his own rights of seeking custody. The 'father's' consent to adoption is not required under the Adoption Acts, but as a result of the 1959 Legitimacy Act he may wish to apply for custody to bring up his own child. Some men have been using this Act to disturb the processes of adoption for all sorts of reasons—some because they genuinely wish to bring up their own son or daughter as the mother

cannot or will not—though others may be using the child as a means to hang on to the mother, or as a 'weapon' with which to punish her.

The men need to know more about the feelings and reactions of their girl friends and their own attitudes and what prompts these. Many more men welcome this sort of help and information than is generally supposed. The man should have a casework service available just as much as the unmarried mother.

The Vista Del Mar Child-Care Service of Los Angeles, U.S.A., under its Director Reuben Pannor has done much valuable work in this field. Dr. Pannor writes: —

> 'Although unmarried fathers have been with us as long as unmarried mothers, the assumption persists that unmarried parenthood is an artifact of female behaviour, magically disassociated from the acts, attitudes, and participation of males. There is only a beginning awareness throughout the country that unmarried fathers should be seen as an integral part of the problem of illegitimacy and that casework services should be established for both unmarried parents.'[4]

Few men, especially the younger men, had much knowledge of the 'facts of life'. There was an appalling ignorance of the most elementary details and a clinging to all sorts of 'myths', such as a girl's inability to conceive on the first occasion of intercourse. *Coitus interruptus* was accepted by the majority of working class lads as a perfectly reliable method of contraception. When they said it could not be their child, as they were 'careful', this is invariably what they meant. Some had the idea that if they offered marriage and this was refused, then they were completely relieved of any further obligation, and even the law could exact no further contribution from them.

The younger men were acting out adult behaviour; some were proving their manhood; some were possibly worried they might be homosexual; a small number were seduced by a sexually more experienced woman; some were in plain rebellion against parental standards; a few were hoping to bring about a marriage. Some of the older men associating with younger women were trying to recapture their youth. There was no one pattern and no single reason for their behaviour.

Few were unconcerned about the child. Those with children by a marriage were more likely to be interested in what happened to the extra-marital child. A number had had other illegitimate children, but the men who fathered two or three children by different women in quick succession often showed signs of deep personality disturbance, and other antisocial acts might follow.

Society must learn to approach the problem of illegitimacy in a more civilised and realistic manner. We must recognise that there are unmarried parents and their children. Where parenthood is undisputed and both parties are agreed, every child should be acknowledged by both parents. The father needs to be 'allowed' to be the father of his child if he so wishes. It would greatly help if the couple could register their financial agreement at a court, without all the proceedings, so that the agreement could have the standing of an Affiliation Order. At present both

mothers and fathers feel that affiliation proceedings are degrading and make them akin to criminals—perhaps this is why so few women will apply for an Affiliation Order and so many men default. Perhaps if we dealt with the fathers as responsible beings they would act more frequently in a responsible manner.

In its pamphlet, *Fatherless by Law*, the Church of England Board for Social Responsibility argues the case for those who father children out of wedlock to be allowed voluntarily to accept their fatherhood.

1. 'Provision for men who father children outside wedlock, voluntarily to assume legal paternal responsibility for them. In other words, to "recognise" them legally as their own.
2. Provision for social action, through the courts and child care authorities, to be taken in the interests of children whose illegitimate fathers do not voluntarily recognise their legal responsibilities.'[5]

Perhaps if society stops regarding the unmarried father as the irresponsible aggressor and lets him accept his fatherhood in a dignified manner and gives him a legal relationship with his son or daughter, many more men will respond in a responsible manner to their 'fatherhood'.

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# RHODESIA—A FAIR SETTLEMENT?

## by Patrick Wall, M.P.

AFTER long negotiations and a number of failures, the British and Rhodesian Governments have at last reached the terms of an agreed settlement. The arguments that must now concern us are, is it fair to all concerned particularly the Africans, and will the settlement work?

Like all agreements between governments it is a compromise and to obtain a compromise both sides have to make concessions. Clearly due to the relative failure of sanctions, the British hand was weaker than at previous negotiations; each time the two sides had negotiated, Britain had to make concessions. In his visit to Salisbury Sir Alec Douglas-Home has obtained more than most experts thought possible, but is this enough?

To obtain a balanced view we must survey the background and the deterioration of relations between the two countries since the dismemberment of the Central African Federation in 1963. This Federation had been in existence for ten years. It collapsed because—rightly or wrongly—the British Government would not stand out against growing African nationalist pressure in the two territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Unfortunately, the British Government of the day was not wholly honest in the methods it adopted to end the Federation. Though this question was specifically excluded from the terms of the Monckton Commission it did, in fact, pronounce on the possible dissolution of Federation. Once H.M.G. had made up its mind on dismemberment, Mr. R. A. Butler, who then had the responsibility for Central Africa, had to get all four governments to his conference at the Victoria Falls. The Federal Government said that they would not attend if the Southern Rhodesia Government refused. Mr. Winston Field, the Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister, proved very reluctant but was eventually persuaded to attend by what Rhodesians still claim to be an assurance that they would receive their independence soon after Zambia and Malawi received theirs.

Mr. Butler was too able a politician to make any such commitment in writing but what he did say was: 'We have never suggested that a conference was necessary to agree the principle of independence. . . . I would like to make it clear that we do not envisage another constitutional conference such as took place in 1961. . . .' The Rhodesians took this to mean that only slight modifications to their new 1961 constitution would be required before they were given their independence; they were proved wrong; Mr. Winston Field resigned and Mr. Ian Smith took over. These arguments continued for the next two years until U.D.I. in November, 1965.

This accounts in part for the Rhodesian bitterness; on the other side some people in the Foreign Office had become personally involved as too often their advice had proved wrong. They believed there would be no

U.D.I. because the business community in Rhodesia was opposed to any such action; they believed sanctions, particularly oil sanctions, would work, hence Mr. Wilson's 'weeks rather than months' speech at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Lagos Conference; they were determined to prove that they were right even if it took years to do so.

Mr. Harold Wilson, however, soon realised that without the full co-operation of South Africa and Portugal, sanctions could not work; thus only eleven months after his Lagos speech came the meeting between the two Prime Minister in *H.M.S. Tiger.* Mr. Wilson felt that he was in a dominating position in spite of the fact that his freedom of manoeuvre had been circumscribed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers who had met in London three months previously. He ordered that Mr. Smith was not to receive the customary courtesies from the Royal Navy; the Rhodesians' accommodation left a lot to be desired and finally Mr. Wilson, with some provocation, lost his temper, issued an ultimatum and demanded acceptance to his terms within 48 hours. The Rhodesian Cabinet turned down the *Tiger* proposals as they would not agree to the proposals for an interim government which sprang from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' demands regarding a formula for return to constitutional rule.

As a result of the failure of the *Tiger* talks the British Government fulfilled their threat and went to the U.N. to request mandatory sanctions; they also declared that there could now be no independence without African majority rule in Rhodesia.

They were, however, to drop this requirement and also the demand for an interim government at the next round of talks between the two Prime Ministers which took place on board *H.M.S. Fearless* at Gibraltar.

By 1968, the Rhodesian High Court had declared in favour of Mr. Smith's Government and Sir Alec Douglas-Home visited Rhodesia and returned with a formula for further negotiations. In 1967-68 came the peak efforts of the 'freedom fighters' invading from Zambia which were decisively defeated. And so on to the second meeting between Prime Ministers aboard *H.M.S. Fearless* in October, 1968. On this occasion relations were quite different. The Rhodesians were given a warship moored alongside *Fearless* to themselves, and were treated more or less as equals. These talks came near to success but each side was suspicious of the other. Mr. Wilson was warned from London that he would have difficulty in getting the agreement through his Party; on the other side, Mr. Smith, having conceded a blocking of a quarter of African seats, could not accept an appeal to the British Privy Council which Mr. Wilson demanded as a second safeguard. The talks therefore failed, though negotiations continued. Mr. Wilson's Government was now under pressure from its own Party on the home economic front over its prices and incomes policy and it became clear that there could be no settlement before a general election had taken place.

In the general election campaign of 1970, the Conservatives promised

to make a further attempt to reach an agreement with Mr. Smith, based on the 'five principles'. Contacts started at the end of that year and continued in 1971 with Lord Goodman's four visits to Salisbury.

When the final meeting came in November, it was clear that Sir Alec Douglas-Home had a far weaker hand to play than had his predecessor, Mr. Wilson.

True, the Rhodesians were short of foreign exchange and their transport system needed re-equipping, but their gross national product was increasing at twice or three times the rate of British increase and the decision of the U.S. Senate and Congress to purchase chrome direct from Rhodesia spelt the death knell of sanctions. They were, however, worried about growing African unemployment, especially among school leavers, and also about the number of young white Rhodesians who were seeking jobs abroad. They did not want to become a province of South Africa and realised that this would be the last chance of a settlement and that success would bring an influx of capital and white immigrants, which would transform their economy.

The 1961 Constitution had been non-racial and had the Africans tried to work within its framework they would by now be on the threshold of complete control. However, they made no such attempt and the post-U.D.I. 1969 constitution had separate racial roles, giving Europeans 50 seats and Africans 16, to be gradually increased to 50 as the income tax paid by Africans increased. Parity would be the ultimate goal. The Senate had 10 Europeans, 10 Chiefs and three Senators appointed by the President.

It was obvious that no repeal of this constitution was possible. The first hurdle, was to break the principle of parity and substitute ultimate majority rule, then to increase the vote of African representation based, not on overall income tax, but on personal education and earnings. Finally the principle of a common role had to be established. All these requirements were obtained by the British negotiators. African progress would now be unimpeded if slow, but speed had not proved particularly successful elsewhere in Africa as the succession of *coups d'état*, revolutions and military takeovers had shown. How long would it take? During the *Fearless* negotiations, Mr. Wilson had himself said 'the time required cannot be measured by clock or by calendar, but only by achievement.' Once again the Africans have the opportunity and, if they are prepared to make the effort, achievement is theirs.

Can Mr. Smith be trusted? Will he not tear up the agreement once made? If this was in his mind, would it not have been much easier to have signed on the dotted line in 1964-65 and then disregarded the Independence Constitution as so many African Commonwealth countries have done? The only firm guarantee against un-constitutional action is force; yet since Britain has not commanded a soldier, a policeman or a civil servant in Rhodesia since 1923 she has not the ability to use force.

Constitutional guarantees against retrogressive amendments are, however, a different matter and are provided by giving the Africans control of a third of the seats when a two-thirds majority is required to alter

entrenched clauses of the constitution. Also, until parity is reached constitutional amendments will also require a majority of the total African vote in the House of Assembly.

The third principle has been achieved by an immediate increase of four African seats and a reduction in the existing African franchise. This, together with the £50m. allocated for African education and economic development, will ensure immediate progress in their political status.

The fourth principle of progress towards ending racial discrimination proved the most difficult of all as this directly affected many of Mr. Smith's most ardent supporters. The British scored a notable success in getting the Declaration of Rights enforceable in the Courts. As in *Fearless,* a Review Commission is to be set up to 'examine the problem of racial discrimination in all fields including the special problem of the allocation and use of land'. The Rhodesians undertook to give Parliamentary effect to the Commission's recommendations but preserved some flexibility by insisting on including the words 'subject to considerations that any Government would regard as over-riding'. Agreement over the fifth principle is virtually identical to the one Mr. Wilson agreed to in *H.M.S. Fearless.* 'Before and during this test of acceptability normal political activities will be permitted to the satisfaction of the Commission provided they are conducted in a peaceful and democratic manner'. However, the hard-core detainees numbering about 50 may not be released and it is still doubtful whether the banned parties of the Nationalist guerillas, Zapu and Zanu, will be given full freedom to campaign, though they may do so under other names.

Before screaming too loudly about these concessions won by the Rhodesian team, let us appreciate that without them there would have been no settlement at all and that there is still a guerrilla army across the border in Zambia. The maximum pressure will be put on all moderate Africans by the Left, the O.A.U. and the U.N. to persuade them to say 'no' to the settlement. The then African Nationalist leader, Mr. Nkomo, and the Rev. Sithole signed the 1961 Constitution but under pressure withdrew their signatures. Had they not done so they might well be on the threshold of controlling Rhodesia today. History can repeat itself and certainly the pressure on Africans will be great. If they say 'yes' then both Parliaments will enact the necessary legislation and Rhodesia will be legally independent though unfortunately a Republic and outside the Commonwealth. How much better it would have been for all concerned if Southern Rhodesia had been given her independence together with Zambia and Malawi in 1964. What a lot of tragedy, effort and wealth would have been saved!

# SOME ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS

## by Lady Gardiner

SEVERAL people lately, on approaching me to take on extra commitments and being met by a refusal on the grounds of my recent involvement with the Six Point Group as their new Chairman, have asked: 'What is this Six Point Group, anyway?' When I explain that it is an organisation working to establish equality between the sexes on six counts, economic, legal, social, moral, occupational and political, they sigh, look slightly puzzled and usually mutter: 'But surely, practically all those aims have already been achieved by women, haven't they?'

Gently they have to be disabused, for it is one thing to offer a hungry individual a free entry to the Ritz restaurant and quite another to expect her to be satisfied if she hasn't the wherewithal to avail herself of the privilege. Before going into the reasons why the privilege of the franchise has not proved the Open Sesame to women we all thought possible in the nineteen twenties, perhaps a few words about the Group and its origin ought to come first.

Lady Rhondda formed the organisation in 1921 (which makes it 50 years old today) as a pressure group to achieve certain important social necessities, i.e. legislation on child assault, help for the widowed or unmarried mother and her child, equal guardianship rights, equal pay for both sexes in the Civil Service and in teaching. As each of these reforms gradually came about another was substituted. By the time Mrs. Hankins Hallinan, Honorary Secretary of the Group for 13 years and Chairman for the last 11—a wonderful term of service!—handed over to me a couple of months ago, the current objectives were:

*Economic equality* in industry and the professions, meaning the rate for the job, established regardless of the sex of the worker. Until Barbara Castle's Bill is fully implemented in 1975, women will continue to suffer from discrimination in employment. At Salts Mill, near Bradford, both sexes operate spinning frames but men work six frames at a time and women usually seven for almost the same pay. The reason for the 'weaker sex' doing more than the men? 'It's women's work' they say. Wage rates for women in the wool textile industry are only 70 per cent of the men's and the latest award of 10 per cent across the board fails to narrow the differential. (See the *Guardian*, September 6, 1971). Vigilance is needed to prevent firms from not paying the rate for the job on the grounds that some work is more suitable to one sex than the other.

Equal partnership in marriage means that husband and wife are jointly responsible for the maintenance of the family, equally sharing the ownership of the home; any surplus family income should be shared equally or be diposed of by mutual consent. At the moment a large percentage of wives have no idea what their husbands earn or what they are entitled to have for the running expenses of the home and family. Joint signatures on

income tax returns would help simplify this problem as a first step.

Married women should be taxed on their earned income, not in conjunction with their husbands'. When claiming for recovery of tax on her earned income, repayment should be paid direct to the wife and not to her husband, as at present.

Concerning *legal equality*, the Group objects to a married woman having to accept her husband's domicile and aims at legislation to enable her to establish her own as a single woman, with the right to retain or change this, irrespective of her husband's domicile, thus simplifying matters relating to her will and intestacy.

Despite the Guardianship of Infants Act of 1925, the father is still assumed to possess superior rights to the mother over their children. In his absence she is, at present, forced to apply to the courts for permission to take her own child out of the country; if sick and requiring an operation, the court's permission has to be obtained before a doctor can perform one on the child. Dame Joan Vickers' Bill to remedy these situations was defeated in the House of Commons this year for want of support. In a male dominated Chamber it was not unpredictable. However, the Home Secretary has hinted that the anomaly is receiving his attention and the Group, meanwhile, is adopting the Asquithian attitude of 'Wait and see'.

*Social Equality.* Assuming a girl is to equip herself to work on a basis of sexual equality when she is an adult, then similar educational and training facilities should be available to her as to a boy. At present girls' schools are ill-equipped compared with boys' for training in electrical and scientific fields and certain crafts, emphasis usually being for girls on domestic studies. When a woman's education is as broadly based as a man's, her choice of careers will be proportionately wider and more varied in scope. Not only teachers but parents often unconsciously discriminate against girls from infancy. Toys, books, games and home duties are sexually 'tabbed'. Dolls for the female, trains for the male, domestic chores for the girls, none, or hardly any for boys, depending on how traditionally minded the parents are.

*Moral Equality.* Gradually the climate is improving in this sphere, but much still remains to be done. In the last couple of years we have seen the abolition of breach of promise cases, also those for damages for adultery against the third party in divorce—Law Reform (Misc. Provisions) Bill, 1970. Claims from fatal accidents by widows are now not assessed as previously by the judge on the woman's prospects of future marriage or actual re-marriage, nor on her physical appearance, age or personality—Law Reform (Misc. Provisions) Bill 1971. This is a distinct improvement long overdue. The same moral standard should be applied in any action against a woman sex offender by including the consenting male as an accessory.

Injustices arising out of the new divorce law in 1971, to the wife divorced against her will after five years' separation, remain to be remedied. A husband, forced to maintain two families on the same

income on which he originally supported one, usually finds this difficult, if not impossible, and inevitably the first wife and children suffer financially. To cope with this problem, suggestions for a scheme of insurance against the breakdown of marriage have recently been proposed and discussed by the Group and are being investigated with a view to their being implemented in the future.

*Occupational Equality.* Discrimination against women in the professions and employment generally still continue, as shown by frequent grievances aired in the daily press. There come to mind of recent date Miss Nagle, who sued the Jockey Club for refusing to grant her a licence as an experienced horse-trainer and won, Miss Margaret Pattle who tussled with the Baltic Exchange over membership and lost, but was eventually allowed to trade with its members—by telephone—and the case of the much publicised lady who was refused membership of the Stock Exchange.

Despite Halifax Corporation's being understaffed by nearly one hundred bus-drivers, Sandra Holt, a fully qualified driver, had to return to conducting because her fellow drivers in the union refused to work with her when she applied for the job. The Bar Council has recently set up a committee to inquire into discrimination against women barristers who suffer so severely from prejudice that they are frequently unable to practise.

Commissions have been set in motion by the Church to consider the ordination of women as priests, but prejudice has been found so strongly against the idea, that they are still excluded, although as Deaconesses and workers their labours are accepted wholeheartedly! The Roman Catholic religion is notoriously anti-woman in its attitude towards contraception, abortion and its exclusion of women from the pulpit. It says much for the Rev. Dr. Elsie Chamberlain that, despite such hostile attitudes from congregations, she was elected to the Chairmanship of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

*Political Equality.* Here we have a curious situation. Although women achieved the vote half a century ago, we have fewer representatives of our sex in Parliament now than in the years following the franchise. The fact is often used to suggest that women are not interested as a whole in politics, but this can scarcely be the case, for the bulk of the canvassing and committee work at elections and between elections is done by a devoted army of female supporters from all three political parties, as is loudly acknowledged when bouquets are being handed round.

One of the reasons why so few women are in Parliament today is that they are not welcomed with open arms by the selection committees when applying for nomination. If there is a choice to be made between a man and a woman of equal qualifications or of one slightly superior (as was the case in my own constituency some years ago), the man is selected as prospective candidate rather than the woman. The committee fears that local prejudice against women politicians may lose

them votes and they prefer to play safe. Another reason is that a political career requires a woman to be away from home the greater part of her life and, unless conditions are made easier for wives and mothers to have home help and more nursery schools instead of less as the years go by, they cannot contemplate a political career. A male M.P. can represent his constituency, serene in the knowledge that his home and children are cared for by his wife. Can the woman M.P. hope that her husband will do likewise?

Some conditions change slowly in society but there are signs, we are told, that the exclusive attitude adopted by men to women in the past is now being eroded and the inclusion of women in the sanctum of men's clubs is quoted as proof of this. But the fact that females are occasionally permitted to enter certain select male clubs as guests on odd days of the week is not due to any change of heart on the part of the membership but solely because the finances of most clubs have become so run down and depleted since the war that more money had to be attracted into the till somehow in order to continue running them. At the moment of writing this, I hear on the radio the Y.M.C.A. objecting strongly to the proposed invasion of women into its masculine designed stronghold on the grounds that there are no facilities for the feminine sex. How often has this old cliché been used as an excuse for excluding women? In this instance, some of the members were less hypocritical and declared quite openly they wanted to keep it a place where the members could relax away from their wives for a day or two a week. Two days later, a more liberal attitude prevailed and it was announced that a majority had voted women into the Y.M.C.A.

There are endless examples of the derisory opinion men seem to have of women that are not, strangely enough, reciprocated by the opposite sex. I have yet to hear a comedienne basing her entire comedy act on jokes about the peculiarities of fathers-in-law, or the failings and misdemeanours of husbands and the appalling way that wives are hounded and harassed by their too fat or too thin male spouses. I have yet to hear of women complaining bitterly of being caught in the 'tender trap' of marriage, yet they as a sex are more trapped, cabined and confined by it than their male counterparts and in a great many cases forced to relinquish their professions on its account.

'The brains and wit of only half our nation are not enough to solve the problems which face us' (Six Point Group manifesto). How then do we bring about the necessary co-operation between the sexes this implies? Women's Lib is not the easy answer, far from it, since a considerable body of its women is anti-man and that won't get us anywhere.

What is needed is a fundamental revolution in the attitude of men and women towards each other, not forgetting that of female to female. Women are still to a great extent apathetic about their status and condition in society, just as slaves from time immemorial have been reluctant to break their chains and free themselves. Nearly every case cited in the preceding paragraphs relates to a woman being prevented by blind pre-

judice from developing as an individual and doing the job for which she has proved herself capable or suitably equipped.

Only education in its widest sense can rectify this. A revolution in thought is necessary from parents in their treatment of children in the home, from teachers in the schools, from professors in the Universities, but mainly from every thinking man and woman who believes that a child or person has an inalienable right to develop its potential in whatever way most profitable to itself and to society without discrimination against it on grounds of sex, colour or nationality. A revolution in practice is also necessary, which would entail husbands sharing equal responsibility with wives in the raising of a family and the running of a home, sharing the sacrifices which are often necessary with regard to jobs. Should the professional wife always be expected to up stakes and follow her husband if his job takes him to another town, another country? Why not the reverse for a change?

The waste of women's talents on which thousands of pounds of public money has been expended, to say nothing of their productivity, is utterly deplorable, and in this ruthless competitive society will steadily worsen as unemployment rises and automation in jobs increases.

This is a male dominated world and male orientated society and until it is run by an equal proportion of men and women we shall continue to suffer the ills of war, aggression, poverty and sickness (millions spent on trips to the moon while millions die for lack of food).

When will we ever learn?

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[Lady Gardiner, F.R.S.A., director of Femina Books Ltd., known as Muriel Box, the film director, before recently marrying the former Lord Chancellor, is author of *The Trial of Marie Stopes*, also the Oscar award-winning film, *The Seventh Veil*.]

# THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM (3)

## by Paul Rose, M.P.

IN my first two articles, I attempted to cover the historical context and the growth of the constitutional movement towards civil rights in Northern Ireland. That the constitutional convention which kept Northern Ireland affairs safely within the province of Stormont (a Protestant Parliament for Protestant people) is dead needs no more proof. Now the House of Commons rings with clash over Northern Ireland and the bellowing of Mr. Paisley competes with the revolutionary sloganising of Miss Devlin over the heads of the English, Welsh and Scots who make up all but twelve of the number sitting in Westminster. Northern Ireland is well and truly at the centre of the British political stage—and seems likely to stay there in the foreseeable future.

It has become an international issue. Two years ago, 'Corriera della Sera' and 'Unita', pinned to the walls of the Christian Democrat and Communist Party headquarters in my Don Camillo-like holiday village, depicted the first carnage in Belfast. Now more soldiers lie dead than in Aden, and the Emperor Hailie Selassie of Ethiopia, when I met him in Addis Ababa, was as keenly aware of the Northern Ireland conflict as he was of the Middle East or the Indo-Pakistan dispute. Franco and Breznev excuse their violations of human rights by reference to Northern Ireland. Rightly or wrongly, it is regarded by many Africans as our last colonial war, comparable to Algeria in the escalating violence and viciousness of the struggle.

The planting of bombs killing indiscriminately is not the prerogative of the I.R.A. It was done by every terrorist movement and reflects the depth of despair and hatred of at least some members of a sick society. But the gunmen and the bombers can operate, like Mao's fish, only in a sea which swallows them up—and where the back doors are left open and the kettle is on the boil for gunmen on the run. It is an indication that the atmosphere has not only changed since British troops went in to save the Bogside, to the cheers of the Catholic ghetto, but worsened incomparably since I wrote the first article of the present series, three months ago. The fact that at Westminster the solid block of twelve Unionists has crumbled to allow in Superprod Paisley and revolutionary socialist Bernadette Devlin, together with nationalist-minded Macmanus joining Gerry Fitt of the S.D.L.P., is only the Parliamentary political reflection of a murkier and bloodier conflict for the minds, hearts—and unhappily bodies—of men in Belfast.

What, then, has caused the deterioration since my own Campaign for Democracy in Ulster seemed to be winning the first skirmishes in the final battle for peaceful reforms and constitutional change in Ulster?

Firstly, during the term of office of the Labour Government, the movement for reform grew both in Northern Ireland and on the back benches in Westminster. It began to permeate the front bench and, not least, the

interest of the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, was aroused by the situation existing only across the water from his own constituency. But the pace of reform failed to meet the expectations aroused. It took two years, for example, from my moving an amendment to provide an Ombudsman for Northern Ireland to the announcement of such an appointment. By that time it was no longer an issue. The basic demand for 'one man, one vote' was eventually met, together with the formation of a boundary commission, but no election at local government level has yet taken place. Hence the cry, sometimes unfair perhaps in the context of a slow-moving society, that the only reforms were paper reforms. The Derry Commission and Central Housing Authority or the disbanding of the 'B Specials' have not compensated for the burning down of Bombay Street by Protestant extremists or the building up of the Ulster Defence Regiment, intended to be 6,000 strong and non-sectarian, into a force 10,000 strong in which the proportion of Catholics has fallen from 15 per cent to less than 8 per cent.

Secondly, the failure of the authorities or the official I.R.A. to protect Catholics under attack led to the slogan 'I.R.A. run away'; and no-one can avoid reacting to the accusation of cowardice. It seemed that the troops and the U.D.R., whose first casualty was shot by Paisleyites using Union Jacks in the Falls Road, were no longer there to protect the perimeter but were dubbed an occupying force. Initially without justification, the accusation has been a self-fulfilling prophecy.

More important was the unthinking resistance by hardline Unionists to the views of Captain O'Neill and Major Chichester Clarke. Both drawn from the traditional aristocracy, they could not compete with the Populist evangelical and revivalist spirit of the Paisleyite phenomenon. The same appeal that attracts under-privileged Wolverhampton skinheads to Enoch Powell, or poor exploited whites to Governor Wallace of Alabama, can be seen at work in an area of economic under-privilege, where a job in the docks and a mean house is luxury enough to make one feel middle-class (as is shown in Richard Rose's Strathclyde study, *Britain—a Multi-National Society*). There is always fear of those one step below, at the bottom rung of the ladder. Thus O'Neill, famed for his visit to Sean Lemass, ran aground on the sands of resistance to Westminster-imposed reforms. Some say Westminster leaned too hard; others that it did not grasp the Stormont nettle firmly enough. Chichester Clarke, from the same family, sounding like an Ulster edition of Sir Alec Douglas Home, was to meet the same fate in the wake of a new Ulster nationalism, personified by former Minister Craig. But it was to be the more consummate self-made politician, Faulkner, who was to emerge as the most authoritative, pragmatic and tightrope-walking politician in the ruling Unionist Party. The swing to the right has therefore assisted the polarisation of the communities, in spite of Faulkner's attempts to attract all sections in turn by his conflicting pronouncements.

Fourthly, in the wake of the army, the civil rights movement and increasing polarisation, the I.R.A. moved into the vacuum left by the

Battle of Bogside or the burning of Bombay Street. Even the unity of anti-unionist politicians in the S.D.L.P. could not head off the resentment of the minority into purely constitutional channels. It was in these circumstances that the catastrophe of the June elections in Britain occurred for, whatever fate the Labour Government deserved, its demise changed the whole basis upon which peace in Northern Ireland depended. So long as the Catholic in the Ardoyne or in Falls Road could look to Westminster, there was a chance of peace. An appeal over the heads of Stormont to sympathetic Labour M.P.s could affect the policies of the Government Party. Somehow, Jim Callaghan had managed to talk to both sides, even if Unionists, with Labour and Liberal exceptions, trusted the Tory Party as their traditional allies. With the fall of the Labour Government, the court of appeal had gone. Unlike the peasant of old with his right to petition the monarch, the minority were at the mercy of their landlords, or in their case overlords, at Stormont.

Then came the disastrous public-relations job of the army search on the Falls Road. U.V.F. arms and rifle clubs, made up of ex-B Specials, were untouched by khaki-clad soldiers from Scotland. 100,000 licenced fire-arms were allowed to remain in the hands of their owners. Allegations of undue roughness and partiality were widely circulated and, more important, believed by the minority: for in Ulster today what is believed is often more important than what happens.

And the final body blow came in the shape of a decision to impose internment without trial. Ill conceived and clumsily executed, the policy may have produced hauls of arms and taken some gunmen off the streets. But it has been so counter-productive that the toll of lives, injuries, explosions and I.R.A. atrocities has escalated far beyond all the previous outbreaks added together. The conditions of internment and draconian laws that go beyond those in use in almost every country where the method has been used have produced such a depth of resentment that even the most moderate representatives of the minority are unable to sit and talk with Mr. Maudling, the good-natured but indolent and easily manipulated Home Secretary. The feeling is widespread that the Stormont tail is wagging the Westminster dog. But the Westminster dog has fangs, as the increasing militancy of Tory back benchers has shown.

If 'Mad Mitch' was able to cite Kenya, Palestine, Cyprus and Asia as examples in support of the method employed, and exposed by the Compton Commission and the Red Cross Report, it seems odd that it did not occur to him that we had left all these territories. It is not understood that even the most disciplined and good-natured army can crack under orders which force it to play an unwilling and unpleasant role with constant tension imposed by the ever-present possibility of a bullet in the back. As one ex-guardman commented in the two-day debate, it is easy to slide down the slippery slope, as in Palestine when both sides were sending out murder squads against each other. One asks where Long Kesh stops and the concentration camps begin. What is the reality behind the semantic distinction between brutality and ill treatment?

Whatever the answers, the result is clearly that, far from prizing the gunmen from the people, the Government have forced the people into the arms of the gunmen. They have learned nothing from Algeria's F.L.N. or the Irgun (Stern Gang), Aden's nationalists or E.O.K.A. The fact that all these movements displayed like the I.R.A. the ruthless hallmarks of incipient fascism is no reason for encouraging them further by the kind of counter-productive action which turns the gunmen into freedom fighters and national heroes, whereas the truth is that they have needlessly shed innocent blood, however valid their cause.

In this situation Harold Wilson's proposal for a transitional period towards a united Ireland is a historic declaration and a new departure from the sterile acceptance of a status quo arising from an unsatisfactory and imposed partition. But it did not deal with the here and now and that is why Labour back benchers married their own strong criticism of policy and of the methods of ill treatment—while appreciating the position of our soldiers, paying tribute to them and condemning internment—with the long-term vision of their leader's proposals. The negative reaction from the Government on the short-term was offset by a surprisingly positive response to the long-term solution. The question is whether political initiatives will now be taken and whether Stormont will be left with a power of veto. For Stormont is at the centre of the crisis and perhaps the greatest obstacle to its solution. We are reaping a bitter harvest from the policies of politicians half a century ago.

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[Paul Rose, M.P., Manchester Blackley, concludes here his series of three articles on the Northern Ireland problem.]

# THE DUPABLE ANIMAL

## by Terry Tucker

LEGEND has its own charm. But part of the historian's concern is to keep factual and fictitious narrative separate. In my salad days as a writer of Bermuda history, I innocently imagined that once a fact was established or — alternatively — an accepted story was proved to be mere myth, not only was the battle over, but the war was won for all time. Instead of which, legend is a hydra-headed monster whose proliferating heads must be decapitated at frequent intervals. For, unfortunately, people can be made to believe anything that is reiterated often enough; the more preposterous the story, the more it appears to be beyond the bounds of mere invention. So it is that every few years the same disproved assertions rear their ridiculous heads and get quoted from book to book as if on unimpeachable authority.

Not that in these small islands there is any excuse for this gay unconcern as to original sources. Dr. Johnson's, 'Ignorance, Madam, sheer ignorance,' does not apply here so much as 'sheer indolence' — for as our 19th century historian-governor, Sir John Henry Lefroy, commented: 'There is no British colony of the 17th century whose colonial history can be so fully traced or dates from so early a stage of settlement.'

The alleged visits of great historical personages I mentally classify as the 'George Washington Slept Here' series. Though one of the earliest is considerably before his time, dating from 1543. That was the year deeply chiselled on an isolated rock near the south coast of Smith's Parish, together with a clear-cut cross and a partially indecipherable monogram, Since many Spanish and Portuguese ships were wrecked on the reefs and coasts of the uninhabited Bermudas in their long journey from the Spanish Main home to old Spain, this rock has been dubbed Spanish Rock and may well have been carved by a lone Iberian mariner whose fate remains unknown. Several interesting theories have recently been propounded: but from time to time writers assert the monogram is that of Ferdinando Camelo and that it attests an early Spanish settlement; and this despite the fact that, as Lefroy pointed out, neither initial in the monogram could possibly represent a C, and that the Spanish historian, Antonio de Herrera, indicated that Camelo's projected settlement never took place.

But to revert to George Washington — the web of inaccuracies that ties him to Bermuda is highly diverting. . . . When President Harry Truman stepped ashore in Bermuda on August 22, 1946, for an eight-day visit, history was made: he was the first Chief Executive of the United States to land in the islands during his term of office, though Woodrow Wilson and William Howard Taft had holidayed here and Franklin D. Roosevelt planned to do so. President Truman visited many historic spots, including old St. Peter's Church in St. George's, and the ancient State House erected in 1620-23, now housing the Masonic Lodge at a

token rental of one peppercorn per annum. At the State House he signed the Ceremonial Bible. Whereupon, unfortunately, he was informed that a former President had left his signature upon the fly-leaf: the great George Washington himself. Why couldn't it be shown? Well, it must have been stolen by a souvenir-hunter! Truman laughingly expressed the pious hope that history would not be repeated in his case.

The cold truth is that despite Paulding's 'Life of Washington' (published in 1840) with its assertion that George Washington was a visitor to Bermuda in 1751, when he was nineteen, it was his eldest half-brother, Lawrence, who came here from Barbados during that year in search of health and returned to Mount Vernon to die. George himself was never here, though one of Lawrence's last letters to his wife suggested that if he got better she should join him in Bermuda 'and bring George with you.' Easy to see how the false assumption arose.

Harder to forgive is the still oft-repeated statement that the famous rape of the gunpowder magazine in St. George's in 1775 (when a hundred barrels of gunpowder were stolen and shipped to the American army for use against the British) was 'in answer' to George Washington's letter 'to the Inhabitants of Bermuda' appealing for practical sympathy and support — and, above all, gunpowder. For, in reality, the most cursory glance at the documents in question simply attest to the slowness of 18th-century communications. Washington's letter is dated September 6, 1775, and the rape of the small gunpowder magazine, long since razed to the ground, had *taken place on the 14th of the previous month.* So the letter was never delivered, let alone 'answered'. And the present Gunpowder Cavern, often mistakenly referred to as the one from which the powder was stolen, was not a gunpowder depository till a hundred years after this incident and is, in fact, a restored fort.

Understandable as it is that a place of authentic historical tradition like Bermuda occasionally flavours the stories of its past to suit a tourist clientèle, we need not claim to be the only offenders. The story, so widely accepted in American mythology, of the child George Washington confessing to his astonished father that, since he could never tell a lie, he must admit to cutting down a cherry tree 'with my little hatchet', was deliberately invented by 'Parson' Weems (Mason Locke Weems) an itinerant evangelist, in the 5th edition (pub. 1806) of his popular, 'History of the Life, Death, Virtues and Exploits of George Washington.'

When Queen Elizabeth II visited Bermuda in 1953 — the first time the islands had been so honoured by the reigning monarch — it seemed the right moment to recall all previous visits by members of the Royal Family, such as that of King George V in 1880 when Duke of York and that of King George VI in 1913 as a naval cadet in H.M.S. *Cumberland.* In fact, a long list of great occasions for the island group.

It had always been definitely asserted that the first Royal Visitor was Prince William Henry (later King William IV) during the reign of George III. The Sailor Prince was on the West Indies Station, visited Newfoundland, Halifax, N.S., Long Island Sound and the Capes of

Virginia and, in 1787, was present at the marriage in the island of Nevis of Horatio Nelson to the widow of Dr. Nisbet. In fact, he gave the bride away.

Impossible to believe that he never put in at Bermuda!

At the western wall of the President Henry Tucker House on Water Street, St. George's, is a private entrance always shown to tourists as King William's Gate. This, everyone was given to understand, was the gateway used by the first Royal Personage to visit Bermuda, Prince William Henry, when he stayed overnight in the annexe of the Tucker House as the guest of the first citizen of St. George's, Henry Tucker, President of the Council, and his wife Frances, daughter of Governor George James Bruere. The Prince, we were told, as Commander of the *Pegasus*, 1786-88, anchored his ship in St. George's Harbour and was rowed ashore to the garden that then ran down to the waterside.

Unfortunately, perhaps, the present writer, anxious in 1953 to substantiate all legends of previous royal visits and unable to fathom why the Parish and Corporation Records of St. George's and our local newspaper files from 1784 onwards contained no reference whatever to this important visitor, wrote to the Royal Archives in the Round Tower of Windsor Castle, to the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich and to the Admiralty. They spared no pains. But alas! exhaustive examination of the logs (or, as the Admiralty puts it, 'of the journals of the proceedings') of the *Prince George,* the *Barfleur,* the *Pegasus* and the *Andromeda* simply proved that during the time Prince William was 'borne' none of these ships ever called at Bermuda. King William's Gate, as such, was a mirage!

An even more ridiculous web of extravaganza has been woven around the three months that Tom Moore spent in Bermuda, January-April 1804, as Registrar of the Vice-Admiralty Court, of all unlikely positions for a poet. Not yet twenty-five years of age, he was irresistible in society with his musical talent combined with a light, airy, graceful Muse. His forte was to write rather amorous verse, his pose more that of a blasé roué than the heart-free young man he really was. ('Ah! tempt me not to love again', forsooth!) At the same time, he was writing home that there was nothing for him here, that he would return home as soon as possible with 'a sunburned face and a heart none the worse for wear.'

Ballads were his stock-in-trade. He addressed them 'To Nea' — Neaera being the classical synonym for 'sweetheart' in Horace, Virgil and Tibullus. He always declared that the name Nea was a symbol for the romantic's dream, a combination of several ideal women. One of his Odes, 'On seeing an infant in Nea's arms', commences 'The first ambrosial child of bliss' — the reaction of a young poet idealising a girl as she embraces a baby.

Legend has constructed a wonderful edifice on those bare bones.

Moore was staying with Admiral Mitchell in Cumberland Lane (now Old Maid's Lane), St. George's; next door was William Tucker, Marshal of the Vice-Admiralty Court, and his bride of seven months, Hester

Louise, barely seventeen years of age. She eventually bore her husband a quiver-full of children and died young. No doubt Tom Moore was entertained there and we know for a fact that he visited the Hon. Samuel Trott at Walsingham. In a few weeks he was gone, like a bright bird of passage; one of the things that was remembered about him was the brilliant colour of his hair under the semi-tropical sun as he rowed on the water.

Twenty-five years later, a young Englishwoman, Susette Harriet Lloyd, came on a visit to Bermuda with the returning Archdeacon Spencer and his wife, and wrote a book about the islands. She spoke as if it were an accepted fact (despite Moore's disclaimers) that Hester Louise Tucker, now dead, had been his 'Nea'. And for good measure she added: *'I saw her son'* (by then the Revd. Richard Tudor Tucker of Rose Hill, to which house his parents had moved, and later to be rector of St. George's from 1839-1868) *'on whom Moore wrote the lines beginning "the first ambrosial child of bliss" '*. Such cool disregard of easily ascertainable fact makes one despair for historical research. One glance at the newspapers of the period or the birth records and the Tucker family tree show that this eldest child of William and Hester Louise Tucker was not born till July of 1805 — and Tom Moore had left Bermuda for ever in April of 1804. The facts explode not only the central myth but all the others that have proliferated around it; down to the entertaining story that the Archbishop of Canterbury recognised the Revd. Richard Tucker when introduced under the sobriquet of 'ambrosial child'. (It seems a pity to discard that one!) As the late Archdeacon John Stow wrote in 1953: 'The ambrosial child was as *ideal* as the Psyche.'

Even the house that now carries his name, Tom Moore's Tavern, was merely a place where he was entertained to dinner by the owner, the Hon. Samuel Trott. What really endear him to Bermudians are his verses descriptive of the island scene, such as: —

> The morn was lovely, every wave was still
> When the first perfume of a cedar-hill
> Sweetly awak'd us, and with smiling charms
> The fairy harbour woo'd us to its arms,

that make us remember him as the poet of these islands.

Perhaps the point of high comedy was attained in 1968 when a rumour swept through the entire islands that Bermuda would, during that year, experience a most cataclysmic event that would destroy the entire population of 50,000 souls. The first rumours came in the form of cautious questions and tentative enquiries. Where exactly was the highest point of land in Bermuda? And how many people could stand, tight-packed upon the Peak 259 feet above sea-level? Other questioners turned to their Bibles and thumbed the unaccustomed pages of the Book of Genesis with its account of the Babylonian flood. Would it be possible to build an Ark large enough to save 50,000 people? Soon the stories grew more and more precise. Apparently it had been foretold that on June 8, 1968, — ironically enough the official birthday of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II — a huge meteor would fall into the North Atlantic

causing an immense tidal wave to sweep across the low-lying islands. How basically dupable human beings are was proved by the number of local residents who decided to play it safe by taking their vacation abroad a little earlier than usual; all the Air Lines suddenly got unprecedented bookings for early June, thriftily taken for one way only! By the time all these stories broke in the local newspapers the origin of the prophecy had been traced back to a well-known Washington clairvoyant, who was promptly invited by members of the Bermuda Hotel Association to accept a luxury holiday in the islands during the first half of June. The invitation was not accepted.

But in case we should be considered more credulous than the outside world, we may remind ourselves that it was in the sophisticated United States in 1938 that a radio broadcast caused mass hysteria. H. G. Wells' fantastic novel, *War of the Worlds,* describing an invasion of the earth by warriors from Mars, was given a radio dramatisation by Orson Welles which caused widespread panic and jamming of American highways. Gullibility seems to be confined neither to time nor place.

A kind of universal indolent credulity is involved in the acceptance and use of well-worn clichés, particularly those that have become distorted from their original meaning by misquotation over the years. A case in point is the present fashion — for there *is* a recurrent fashion even in clichés — to say: 'You can't have your cake and eat it.' When, indeed, we all have our slice of cake to devour whether it be plain or plum. What we cannot expect of life is to eat our cake and still have it, And that, of course, is the form in which this old saw appeared in the earliest collection of English colloquial sayings, published in 1546 by John Heywood: 'Would you both *eat* your cake and *have* your cake?'

No, unfortunately what Robert Southey said so succinctly over a hundred years ago is still true of human beings: 'Man is a dupable animal. There is scarcely anyone who may not, like a trout, be taken by tickling.' . . . And, considered in this connotation, 'man' embraces 'woman'.

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[Born in the Isle of Wight, Terry Tucker, M.B.E., has spent most of her life in Bermuda. Editor of the *Bermuda Historical Quarterly,* she is the author of *Bermuda's Story* (Bermuda Book Stores), 7th Impression 1970, *Bermuda and the Supernatural,* Glasgow University Press, 1968, *What's Become of Anna?,* Robert Hale & Co., 1972, etc.]

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## QUARTERLY FICTION REVIEW

### by Rosalind Wade

*The Innocents*. Margery Sharp. Heinemann. £1.50; *The Home*. Penelope Mortimer. Hutchinson. £1.75; *The Accidental Man*. Iris Murdoch. Chatto and Windus. £2.00; *Sunlight on Cold Water*. Francoise Sagan. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £1.75; *The Romantic Englishwoman*. Thomas Wiseman. Jonathan Cape. £2.25; *Clancy*. Frederic Mullally. Hart-Davis. £1.95; *Come in Number One, your time is up*. Derek Jewell. Macmillan. £2.25; *The German Lesson*. Siegfried Lenz. Macdonald. £3.50; *The Man from Dahomey*. Frank Yerby. Heinemann. £2.40; *Chinnery in China*. Kathleen Odell. John Murray. £2; *The Ringed Castle*. Dorothy Dunnett. Cassell. £2.50; *The Provincial Governor*. John Scott. Longmans. £2.10; *A Trilogy*. John Moore. Pan Books. 30p.

The problem of combining fact and fantasy in fiction is that so often the two ingredients refuse to blend. In *The Innocents* Margery Sharp tells the story of an elderly spinster who 'comes by' a mentally handicapped child. In the author's analysis of the situation the three-year-old girl is an 'innocent' or 'fay' creature whose ideas and impulses are somehow sacrosanct. Had the action been set in the 1840s instead of immediately following World War II this would possibly have seemed a reasonable assumption. As it is, the reader is left wondering when some practical therapeutic treatment will be recommended by a local health visitor or G.P. Nothing of the kind occurs; the implication being that in a forward-looking village community no one has any misgivings that the fast-growing infant cannot be taught to read or talk. Margery Sharp is a veteran novelist of proved ability who has delighted readers of two generations with her sly perceptive humour. There is much in *The Innocents* that is good and sensitive in description and characterisation. An unfortunate exception is the portrayal of the tigerishly possessive guardian. Through the medium of first-person narration she emerges as shrewd and unlovable—not really an 'innocent' at all.

Perhaps one might wish for a more positively imaginative approach in *The Home* by Penelope Mortimer, another experienced writer, justly acclaimed. *The Home* sets out to present a middle-aged woman's attempt to re-build a life of independence after divorcing her dominating and incompatible husband. This is a promising theme and one of contemporary interest at a time when the annual divorce figures have reached an unprecedented total. The removal from the family flat to a spacious house in St. John's Wood, the inevitable misgivings and sudden panic are unfolded with extreme insight and sensibility. Despite the hopeful unfolding of wings preparatory to new flights of freedom, Eleanor Southern cannot look forward to full emancipation because of the presence of the children: an unattractive crowd at once strident and insecure. This is not really a misfortune. Beyond a vague longing for 'peace' and the resuscitation of an old love-affair Eleanor seems to lack clear or worthy directives for her new existence. Some of the subsidiary characters, such as the two grand-mothers, are among the most satisfying portraits. The general

impression is of a sound idea collapsing before the half-way mark, due perhaps to its delineation through the actions and impulses of people lacking in purpose or conviction.

A writer who in the course of her career has progressed from farce to fantasy, culminating in a remarkable combination of the two, is Iris Murdoch. Readers who have found her off-beat approach to quite ordinary events and situations tantalising and disquieting will be intrigued and entertained by *The Accidental Man*. The vehicle of a comparatively straight-forward theme provides an entirely suitable opportunity for Iris Murdoch to let off her intellectual fireworks. The novel opens with a longish dialogue in which German-born, American-nationalised Ludwig Ferrier is asking pretty, conventionally-minded Gracie Lisburne to marry him. Ludwig has evaded service in Vietnam and his conscience troubles him. Will Gracie ever be capable of understanding the complexities of his anxiety? That she will almost certainly *not* do so is indicative of the basis of Iris Murdoch's philosophy. People are thrown together by circumstance; they form unions fortuitously and so have only the flimsiest hope of success. The accidental way things happen is a continuing theme in *The Accidental Man*—as consistent as George Eliot's belief in the remorseless working-out of the behaviour of the individual towards the other members of his community. A large part of *The Accidental Man* is unfolded in a sequence of letters; the older characters sometimes seem reminiscent of Ivy Compton Burnett's aunts and grand-mothers or the 'chorus' of ancient relatives in *Family Reunion*—though more touched with reality. Yet the parallel does not run far, because the unmistakable stamp of the most individual novelist of our day isolates the various groups and sub-groups in *The Accidental Man* from the creations of any other writer of the past or present century.

Admittedly, despite the liberal use of dialogue and decisive action *The Accidental Man* is not easy reading. That subtlety can be communicated without obscurity is demonstrated by Francoise Sagan's new novel, *Sunlight on Cold Water*, translated by Joanna Kilmartin. Francoise Sagan was in her nineteenth year when the memorable *Bonjour Tristesse* became a best-seller in 1953. Through four successive novels she has maintained her original approach, although *Sunlight on Cold Water* lacks something of the early brilliance by pursuing a subdued and not always attractive theme. Gilles works on a Paris newspaper. He is suffering from sexual impotence, 'depression' in the clinical sense, and is likely to commit suicide. Having brutally discarded the mistress of the moment, he departs for the Paris countryside in the hope of rehabilitation at the home of his sympathetic though obtuse sister. And there he meets the love of his life; not, as might have been anticipated, a young, glamorous girl but a mature married 'bourgeois' woman who is nonetheless ready to abandon her husband for Gilles. Her determined passion for the young journalist might have been inspired by D. H. Lawrence's elopement with Frieda van Richthoven.

> 'How did he take it?'.
>
> She looked at him in astonishment.
>
> 'What can it matter to you? You never took any interest in the sort of man he was when I was still living with him, did you? So why should it matter to you how we parted . . .?'
>
> 'I just wanted to know if he . . . if it wasn't too painful, especially for you . . . .'
>
> 'Oh, me,' she said, 'I was leaving him for a man I love. He was being left on his own, you see . . . .'

From this brief exchange will be seen the sureness of touch, and complete

lucidity of Francoise Sagan's approach to a situation charged with guilt and misgiving.

Yet another passionate and even more dominating woman is the central character in *The Romantic Englishwoman* by Thomas Wiseman. Elizabeth Fielding manifests all the misdirected force of a wife and mother totally dissatisfied with the pattern of her life, whether domestic or emotional. Basically, she adores her baby son; yet the limitations his presence impose on her freedom of action make her physically ill. Her husband, Lewis, is presented—not very convincingly—as a famous writer. He is also a keen amateur psychologist. Thus, he understands her problems yet cannot help, beyond ministering to her overmastering sexual desires. These are described with clinical exactitude. It is not irrelevant. The mutual reaction of the couple during the most fundamental expression of their relationship reveal them more positively than any amount of dialogue or description. Elizabeth meets a 'poet' while on holiday at Baden-Baden: later, he appears at the Fieldings' suburban home where he duly sponges on his indulgent hosts. It is all rather reminiscent of the penniless intellectuals of the 'thirties who lived off the rich or starved in garrets sooner than accept uncongenial employment. Finally the young man dies in a climbing accident and Elizabeth is grief-stricken; yet such is the force of her personal magnetism that Lewis hopes she will one day 'love' him again . . . 'I kept looking at her as I drove . . . she was so full of things, of dark ore, of humiliation, of anguish, of rage, of love, of misery, of madness, spilling over with her seething—this brimful woman'. Thomas Wiseman is a writer with a particular kind of force and power: although his method of narration is often confusing, alternating between past and present tenses, flashbacks, and soliloquies, sometimes within a single paragraph.

These five novels deal almost exclusively with the pressures and inconsistencies of personal relationships; they are not even glancingly concerned with the wider issues of social or international events. This limited horizon is by no means a common factor in the season's fiction. In *Clancy*, Frederic Mullally sets out to present a survey in depth of the City of London over a period of thirty years. Frank Clancy is the son of a London policeman, born at the turn of the century. The closely documented scheme for the unfolding 'saga' is demonstrated in the opening chapters, when young Frank is applying for a hoped-for scholarship. In the nervousness of the candidate and the obsequiousness of his father the humility and aspiration of the London 'poor' is firmly indicated. It also sets the pace for the leisurely progress of the story told with a *minutiae* of detail. The boy finally 'makes it' and becomes a successful journalist with 'leftist' tendencies, to the satisfaction of his parents, even though he betrays his 'class' by moving in among intellectuals and revolutionaries. In this four-hundred-and-fifty-page novel Frederic Mullally concedes nothing to the popular taste for gimmicky presentation or 'permissiveness'. National events, from the General Strike to the Vietnam War, provide a worthy scaffolding for the story of Frank Clancy's advancement and eventual disillusionment. A diversion is the inclusion of 'real' people, such as George Orwell, Aneurin Bevan and Ethel Mannin.

Another satisfying broad canvas provides the background of *Come in Number One, Your time is up*, a first novel by Derek Jewell. This is the world of Big Business:

> The last word on how we may live or die
> Rests today with such quiet

> Men, working too hard in rooms that are too big,
> Reducing to figures
> What is the matter, what is to be done.

as W. H. Auden so skilfully pin-pointed the way of life in well-carpeted and heated offices. Acknowledgment is given for assistance in ensuring accuracy in technical, commercial and managerial backgrounds; and the long, comprehensive novel may be taken as a blue-print of all that goes on behind the doors of many mammoth enterprises such as 'Prospero Ltd.'. The Prospero Group is top-heavy with development and personnel and seems to be heading for disaster. The main tycoon, Bernard Grant, has over-reached himself and faces demotion and mental break-down. The inevitable struggle for succession ensues. Despite the fact that all those involved in the contest travel abroad and return each day to their dissimilar homes, 'Prospero' is a 'closed' society as surely as any prison, hospital or school. The various wives and mistresses shrewdly assess each others' clothes and etceteras. The husbands dream of redundancy or physical collapse during their respites from insomnia and of the days when money-making was easy and Prospero simply could not do wrong. Altogether, this lengthy, graphic novel makes for compulsive reading.

The struggle for power within an isolated unit has always provided the novelist with an effective stamping ground. Still on an unfashionably ample scale, the German writer Siegfried Lenz demonstrates this with *The German Lesson,* translated by Ernst Kaiser and Eithne Wilkins. Siegfried Lenz has deservedly enjoyed considerable success with six novels and *The German Lesson* has already sold half a million copies and been translated into fourteen languages. It is almost certain to be equally successful in this country. In some ways Siegfried Lenz may be seen as a modern counterpart of Hermann Hesse, for he has the same intuitive approach to childhood and the trials of adolescence. However, his theme and setting are far more realistic. The scene for *The German Lesson* is a penitentiary for delinquent boys on an island in the River Elbe. Psychiatrists come in droves to study the inmates, who tell the experts only what they wish to hear.

> 'There was someone at the spy-hole in the door. I felt it instantly. The needle-thin pain, creeping down my back, told me that a coldly exploring eye had fastened itself to that spy-hole, observing me as I went on writing and writing.'

The inner story of 'Siggi', told with wisdom and imagination, emerges through the periods of psychiatric treatment, the internecine war of the prison, and flash-backs to a happier life in Schleswig Holstein.

Historical novels continue unabated in popularity and a number maintain a high standard of interpretation and accuracy. Among the best of these are *Chinnery in China* by Kathleen Odell, a story of nineteenth century events in Macao and Canton; *The Ringed Castle* by Dorothy Dunnett, an account, almost bewildering in its wealth of 'colourful' detail—the fifth in a series of six novels set in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries casting the net from Scotland to Russia; and *The Man from Dahomey* by Frank Yerby, an out-size account of life in West Africa in the nineteenth century. A tribal chief is captured by slave-dealers and led away to captivity; his early life in the 'bush' conveyed in flash-backs of memory during the long, arduous journey. These three novels are all worthy of attention but by far the most impressive as an example of historical research combined with a high level of human interest is *The Provincial Governor,* a first novel, by John Scott. This is a story of the period of Roman occupation of Britain in A.D. 61, immediately after the disastrous Boadicea up-rising. Small units of the Roman army are besieged and out-numbered. Within the regiment the usual jealousies and differences of

opinion threaten to cause further disruption to the Roman cause. The anxieties and hardships are seen through the eyes of one Quintus Petillius Cerialis as he prepares to leave the hated shores of Britain; the parallels between Roman occupation and similar present-day administrations in hostile lands are significant.

Finally, from PAN books, comes a welcome re-issue of the late John Moore's Gloucestershire trilogy *Brensham Village, The Blue Field* and *Portrait of Elmbury*. Told with humour and tolerance these stories of village and small town life should rank with the work of such regional novelists as Sheila Kaye-Smith and Adrian Bell.

## THE MAN WHO KNEW EVERYTHING

*The Diaries of Alexander Cadogan, 1938-1945*. Edited by David Dilks. Cassell, £6.00.

In this absorbing volume Sir Alec comes under our review in at least three capacities; as a Diarist, as a Permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office and as a human being. His success under the first heading—and he is as readable as he is informative—may be felt to damage the impression he makes under the third. One is left wondering at the end whether one would have really *liked* Sir Alec unless one happened to have been at Eton or one of his political masters or a member of his family.

His devotion to his wife is beautifully expressed throughout and most of all in his final tribute. We are also told by his masterly biographer, basing himself on subsequent conversations with Cadogan that 'for all the irritable and exasperated observations in his Diary he felt admiration and affection for both Churchill and Eden'. True, no doubt, but there were others whom he seemed to have a great power of disliking even in retrospect. The comments on Lord Vansittart and Lord Templewood for example would not presumably have been published unless they reflected his considered mind. On October 31st, 1940, for example we find him writing—'Van wanting to be tough. What a child he is and suffers from childish complaints like vapours and irritations. Nothing rational about him at all. Just silly uninformed impulse.' And so on and so forth elsewhere about Vansittart and not Vansittart alone. His remarks about politicians generally have already startled the newspaper reading public. 'What cattle these politicians are! And what moral cowards . . .' Somewhat earlier during the May crisis of that year he went even further—'How beastly the H of C is! With what delight they jump on a good man when he is down!' (In this case Chamberlain.) 'The trade of politics is indeed a dirty one . . . all their beastly little envies and jealousies have to be appeased.'

We accept as best we may the defence put up by Professor Dilks. 'It would be easy but most misleading', he argues, 'to conclude that the Diary represents the "real man". Whereas a reader of the Diary might imagine Cadogan to have lived in a fever of irritability' (that word again). 'Most people who saw him at work day by day believed him to personify calm, moderation and common-sense.' Which was also no doubt true.

This brings us to his achievement as Permanent Under Secretary. The blurb describes him as 'one of England's finest servants'. In a general sense that could be said not unreasonably of any one who rose to be Permanent Head of the Foreign Service; still more obviously of one who held the post for 8 tremendous years and was asked to carry on when new and very different masters, who knew his work intimately, took over in 1945. He must have been

—he clearly was—immensely valued by Prime Ministers Chamberlain, Churchill and Attlee and by Foreign Ministers Eden (twice), Halifax and Bevin. Both as an adviser and as an executant they clearly thought that he filled the bill most efficiently. Some attributes he possessed beyond possible cavil among which his superb paper work occupied a high but not perhaps the highest place. That may have been reserved for his courage, though he himself disparaged it claiming that his wife was altogether braver. One likes the passage in the Diary for June 15th, 1940. 'French army seems to have disintegrated. Went out in a deluge of rain and picked peas and dug potatoes for our dinner which was excellent. Everything awful but come the three corners of the world and we will shock them. We'll all fight like cats—or die rather than submit to Hitler. U.S. look pretty useless. Well we must die without them.'

But what marks do we give him for foresight? Is this an intelligible question to ask about an official diary or indeed about an official's record of service as distinct from that of his political chiefs? Once Churchill is in the saddle a certain burden of responsibility, an element of ultimate strain, seems to be lifted from Cadogan's shoulders. In that sense the 1938-1939 entries are the most fascinating. One feels that foreign policy was still fluid in spite of Chamberlain's dogmatism and mastery. No one high or low knew the answers—perhaps by 1938 they were not there to be known but Cadogan clearly felt himself as involved as any Minister in the desperate search for them.

Cadogan, most aristocratic of officials, was even more attached to Neville Chamberlain than to Churchill or Eden. 'Cadogan's Diary', concludes Professor Dilks, 'shows that he thought the policy pursued in 1938 the least undesirable option'. One cannot be sure whether this view was influenced by his special regard for Chamberlain, or whether he admired Chamberlain so much because the two of them thought so much alike in foreign policy. Be that as it may, he was writing on May 8th, 1940—'In my view Neville Chamberlain the best P.M. in sight. The *only* alternative is H and that would be the end of him. Winston useless.' Yet two days later he is recording—'Labour refused to serve under Neville who resigns. Winston to form government,' So much for the vantage point of the insider.

The total amount of influence he exerted over the years must have been enormous. But only on one major occasion does he distinguish the consequences of his personal intervention. The entry for September 24th, 1938, records the meeting of the inner Cabinet after Chamberlain's second meeting with Hitler. 'P.M. made his report to us. I was completely horrified—he was quite calmly for total surrender. More horrified still to find Hitler has evidently hypnotised him to a point. Still more horrified to find that P.M. has hypnotised H (Halifax) who capitulates totally . . . Drove H home and gave him a bit of my mind.' Cadogan didn't shake Halifax then but next day Halifax sent for him. 'Alec', he said, ' I am very angry with you. You gave me a sleepless night . . . but I came to the conclusion you were right.' So did the Cabinet and so reluctantly did Chamberlain. On this occasion at least we can be as grateful to Cadogan as were those who relied on him so heavily through so many years of dedicated service.

LONGFORD

## LANDSCAPE OF CHILDHOOD

*And Miss Carter Wore Pink: Scenes From an Edwardian Childhood.* Helen Bradley. Jonathan Cape, £1.60.

Pictures in the fire, pictures in the mind, perhaps a few notes scrawled in a dog-eared diary—that, for most of us, is the tangible—or intangible—sum of

memory. Helen Bradley is a notable exception. Born in 1902, in a tall, Victorian house in Lees, a Lancashire village hugging the foothills of the Pennines, she has not only carried the landscape of childhood in her mind and heart, but at the age of sixty-four began to re-create it on canvas. Her purpose was to show her little grand-daughter what life was like when she was a child in the 'lovely, gay and exciting Edwardian era'. It has been accomplished magnificently. The twenty-four primitive, idyllic paintings reproduced in this book, framed with Mrs. Bradley's own whimsical, nostalgic commentaries, freeze the moment, stay the flight of time, bring the day before yesterday into crystal focus.

I shall never again look at one of those bleak Victorian-Edwardian, railed cemeteries without 'seeing' the so-black figures of Mrs. Bradley's painting peopling the empty paths, bringing their armfuls of spring flowers to deck the graves wherein the loved ones they have so long-since joined awaited them.

The small park lake, desolate and thickly-iced under a leaden winter's sky, will be transformed . . . lit with Japanese lanterns, awhirl with the decorous skirts of the graceful skaters and their splendidly-moustached partners. Mrs. Bradley has bequeathed their undying ghosts to me.

The fragrance of home-cured ham and home-baked bread arises from the pages. You hear the crackling of the flames in the good black coal range. And those long-ago afternoons and evenings of summer, when fields and lanes and Baptist chapels glowed golden in Edwardian sunshine, they also are magically recaptured in her soft-hued net.

This is not so much a book as an *experience*. It has made me grateful . . . and sad . . .

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

## MID-VICTORIANS

*Anthony Trollope*. James Pope Hennessy. Jonathan Cape, £5.00.
*The Carlyles: A Biography of Thomas and Jane Carlyle*. John Stewart Collis. Sidgwick & Jackson, £2.50.

The recovery in critical and popular esteem of the name and novels of Anthony Trollope (1815-1882) during the past three decades must rank in literary history as one of the most surprising developments in the annals of books and reputations. When Trollope was alive and writing his success was phenomenal; but on the day following his death *The Times* printed a smoothly denigratory opinion which gave the cue for future neglect; and in 1900 the publisher William Tinsley wrote that 'as soon as death stopped his prolific pen, the author and the books died almost at the same time, for no one reads or thinks about Mr. Trollope's novels now'. And that, in varying degrees, reflects the position until the late Michael Sadleir's book, 'Trollope: a Commentary', appeared in 1927 and began to stimulate a fashion of re-assessment. When the Second World War came with its boredoms and black-outs and general misery, the reading public began to turn to the currently-recommended Victorian novelist for diversion and distraction; the libraries found difficulty in coping with the demand and the bookshops emptied their stocks of 'Barchester Towers', 'The Warden', 'Framley Parsonage' and other Trollope titles.

Now we are given Mr. James Pope Hennessy's lively and solid account of the man and his books, and we trace Anthony Trollope from his unhappy days in a disturbed sickness-laden home circle and as an awkward square-peg schoolboy at Harrow and Winchester, through restless years clerking in the

G.P.O. at St. Martin's-le-Grand until his transfer as a P.O. inspector to the West of Ireland. Suddenly he cast off the gloom and frustration which had beset him in London life and began to acquire the character of a thoroughly good public servant. He felt free; he bought a hunter and rode to hounds; at twenty-nine he married. He began to write stories, and within three years his first novel, 'The Macdermots' appeared. He was thirty-two, and more than fifty novels followed with a dozen other books before his death.

The compulsive quality in Trollope's fiction is found in his alert observation of the ordinary and usual in daily life. The late Professor Sir Walter Raleigh wrote, 'Trollope starts off with ordinary people and makes an epic of them, because he understands affection'. We feel that in every absorbing page of 'The Warden' and 'Barchester Towers', and in the bulk of his full and varied output. This Victorian novelist looks sanely and compassionately at the human condition and reminds the reader of what he sees. He was a man of wide general experience, swift and capable in the construction of plot and the penetration and delineation of character, and one of our happiest thoughts of him arises from a comment made by his friend George Eliot about her finest novel: 'But for Anthony Trollope I should never have planned my studies on so extensive a scale for "Middlemarch", or that I should, through all its episodes, have persevered with it to the close.'

Mr. Pope Hennessy's biography of Trollope is a splendid achievement.

A different kind of book altogether, less detailed and ample in range, is John Stewart Collis's *The Carlyles*. It is unique in being the only biography to treat the dour philosopher's character and temperament in the context of his marriage with the beautiful and spirited Jane Welsh. Thomas, of lowland Scottish peasant stock, was the son of a builder who became a master-mason but quitted it for farming; he devoted his meagre funds to Thomas's education, planning that he should go into the Church and become an eminent Divine. In the event, the youth declined to pursue theology, tried his hand at teaching and in law studies but gave up both in favour of literature. When he met Jane Baillie Welsh, six years his junior, well educated and a cut above him socially, he found a girl normally interested in young men and tolerant of his professions of friendship. She measured his uncouth accent and awkward ways but intermittently showed him preference over other suitors. His scholarship and intellectual vigour attracted her and she began to fit him into her dream of having a genius for a husband who would give her wonderful children. Their correspondence at this time of stop-go courtship is fascinating in its psychological complexity. They married when he was thirty-one and Jane twenty-five, while he struggled to get a footing in authorship. Had they found the full happiness of married love their life story must have been different; but we have the authority of Carlyle's biographer J. A. Froude that Carlyle was unable to consummate his marriage on the wedding-night, and this, as Mr. Collis writes so revealingly, 'caused him next morning to tear to pieces the flower garden at Comely Bank in a fit of ungovernable fury'.

If indeed Carlyle's marital incapacity continued, this, combined with his dyspepsia, self-absorption in work and frequent irritability, explains the fluctuating moods the wife suffered and displayed until 1866 when she died suddenly at the height of his fame. For fourteen years he had been toiling on his huge and now forgotten 'Frederick the Great', their house at 14 Cheyne Row enjoined to silence while the sage laboured over his ornate periods. After Jane's death he devoted himself to the heart-wringing task of editing her diaries and letters. He himself lived for fifteen more years, many of them marred

by bitterness and regret. His father's Gospel of Work had triumphed. Mr. Collis leaves us to imagine the desolate sage poring over her written words—'after a hundred years they pierce into our hearts even as they pierced into his!'

Other books discuss and estimate the substance and quality of Thomas Carlyle's massive writings; *The Carlyles* show us two loving but lonely souls journeying on the sea of life together.

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

## THE GUILT OF STEINIE MORRISON

*The Corpse on Clapham Common.* Eric Linklater. Macmillan, £2.95.

An East End refugee Jew, Leon Beron, died 50 years ago, a violent and mysterious death in the wintry gloom of Clapham Common.

An East End refugee Jew, Steinie Morrison stood trial for his murder, was convicted, and reprieved.

Steinie Morrison, protesting his innocence to the last, died, ten years later —on January 24, 1921—of wilful starvation, in the grey confinement of Parkhurst Prison.

In the turbulent East End London of 1911, Beron and Morrison were men of no account, but the strange throw of fate which looped them together was to endow their brief encounter with a significance which still endures. A jury, choosing to disregard the plain hints of Mr. Justice Darling, decided to convict Morrison, on evidence of dubious substance, of the murder of Beron, and by so doing initiated an unease which the passage of half a century has failed to dispel. Mr. Eric Linklater has become the latest victim to the disagreeable suspicion that here was, possibly, a miscarriage of justice, and has been driven to the catharsis of a book-length re-examination of the whole unsatisfactory affair. His book, written with skill and grace as one would expect it to be, will not, however much it may please those of a nice literary taste, excite the criminologically orientated reader.

On period atmosphere, the social and political background of the year 1911, Mr. Linklater is impeccable. He even manages to make some sort of sense out of the bizarre, polygot, multi-racial, anarchist community which had set up its alien, immigrant sub-culture in the Whitechapel of that curious time. But he is unable to add a single new fact to the corpus of information previously disclosed. He does, however, produce a further speculation to diversify the existing territory of theory. The two main previous contentions as to motive were (a) that Steinie Morrison, either alone or in cahoots with a second man, murdered Beron in the furtherance of robbery. (b) that Beron was killed as an act of vengeance on the part of some unspecified secret society. Mr. Linklater's ingenious suggestion—debt acknowledged to Conrad's 'prophetic' *The Secret Agent*—is that Morrison was the instrument of a Russian conspiracy to excite 'universal repressive legislation' against anarchism. To this end, the Russian *agents provacateurs* organised the Houndsditch robbery of December 1910, the killing of Leon Beron of January 1911, and the Siege of Sidney Street, also in January 1911, in the belief that this trio of rapid-fire outrages would incense public opinion and intensify police activity against the 'anarchist menace' in their midst.

From long acquaintance with the case, wide reading in it, and conversations which I have had with actual survivors of that odd interlude in London's history—including Nina Vassilieva, who was herself one of the Russian emigre anarchists—I am convinced that Steinie Morrison was not of their number. I am also convinced of his *technical* guilt. I am not of opinion that he was

the actual murderer of Leon Beron. That is to say, I do not think that his was the hand that struck the fatal blows, and I believe that it was this knowledge that sustained him in his own belief in his innocence. Morrison did not know British Law. He did not understand the legal implications of 'accessory before the fact'. He had the *ingenue* innocence of ignorance.

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

## A HISTORY OF THE DETECTIVE STORY

*The Murder Book*. Tage la Cour and Harald Mogensen. Allen & Unwin, £3.25.

April 1st, 1841. A date that should indeed be 'writ large' in letters of blood-red, for it was the day on which *Graham's Magazine* published in Philadelphia Edgar Allen Poe's 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue', generally accepted as the first 'detective story'.

During the intervening 130 years, the Chevalier C. Auguste Dupin, archetypal amateur, has had myriad successors, and the Danish compilers of this beautifully-produced, illustrated history of the detective story have crammed the significant majority into its 192 pages. Sherlock Holmes, Arsene Lupin, Father Brown, Miss Marple, Hercule Poirot, Lord Peter Wimsey and James Bond—all the old favourites of the armchair crime addict are here. So, too, are their creators. The scene of the crime shifts from the Far East, China and almond-blossomed Japan, through the fog-swathed London of Dickens and Jack the Ripper to the harsh-lined America of the 87th Precinct.

Although primarily a picture book—more than 400 illustrations, many of them in colour—the text has not been neglected. Interesting comparisons are drawn between crimes of fact and fiction, the authors discuss the qualities necessary to write successful crime and spy stories, and the unwritten rules governing fair play to the reader.

It was Dorothy Sayers who wrote 'Murder Must Advertise'—if that be true, then this book is surely one of the best advertisements for it.

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

# SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

**Pakistan Crisis** (Heinemann, £1.75). David Loshak has produced under great pressure and speed a short pungent survey of events leading to the conflict in Pakistan. He provides a quantity of information about the social, economic and political background to the struggle between the two wings. No doubt his assessments will be open to criticism from different quarters. It is unfortunate that there are no annotations, references, bibliography or even index. It is fair to say that his 'aim has always been to describe trends rather than provide hard and fast textbook statistics'. Mr. Loshak has been the Daily Telegraph's South Asia Correspondent since 1969. 'Very few other outside, neutral observers have seen the latest phase of Pakistan's disintegration at first hand throughout the crucial phases since the downfall of Ayub.' He has sought information from many sources. Although inevitably his sympathies lie with Bangla Desh, he accepts the good faith and democratic views of President Yahya Khan until met by the rigid determination of the Awami League, with its overwhelming electoral majority, to pursue the loosest confederation with the West, little short of independence, and by the pressure of his own generals. The author gives a grim and graphic account of the ghastly and utterly indefensible massacres which followed. He regarded a political solution as insoluble, and a

military success by the Bangla Desh as a dream for at least a long time ahead.

**World Politics since 1945** (Longman, paperback £1.95). This book by Peter Calvocoressi was first published in 1968 when it received wide praise as a balanced and extremely readable survey of world affairs since the Second World War. Now in this second edition, the author has made a few revisions and has brought the narative of events down to the end of 1970. The author writes with great clarity, style and assurance. It is the overall picture which appeals. The author would obviously accept that on at least the most recent events final assessments are not yet possible. The use of the book would have been greatly improved by a bibliography.

**The Great Moghuls** (Jonathan Cape, £4.94). Bamber Gascoigne, star of Granada Television, and his wife Christina spent six months in India and Pakistan following the footsteps of the Great Moghuls, visiting their forts and cities, palaces and gardens. The result of their researching is seen in this remarkable book which presents scrupulous scholarship in a lively and lucid text matched with superb plates of the photographs taken by Mrs. Gascoigne. Of the illustrations there are 56 pages in colour and 87 monochrome. From Babur and Akbar down to Aurangzeb, the story of these fabulous potentates is told compulsively by the author, and the whole is rounded off by a Genealogy, a map of Moghul India, a Bibliography and Notes on the Illustrations. This is an outstanding example of British Book Production.

**Revolution and Counter Revolution** (Allen & Unwin, 60p). Karl Marx wrote these celebrated articles on the revolutionary movements in Europe and their suppression in the middle of the nineteenth century for the New York Tribune between 1851 and 1852. They were first published in 1891 as a whole, with a preface by Marx's daughter, Eleanor Aveling. The last and tenth impression was in 1952; and now they have been republished in the paperback Unwin Books series.

**Man and His Ancestors** (Hutchinson, £2.75 hardboard, £1.30 paperback). This is a revision in the Radius Book series of Alan Houghton Brodrick's *Man and his Ancestry* published in 1960. The purpose of this book is to provide for the general reader a brief account of what is known of the evolution of modern man. In the past ten years there have been some remarkable developments, including the finds in the Olduvai gorge in East Africa and the even more recent discoveries in Ethiopia. There appears to be little dispute now that 'Man is an African animal', going back maybe three million years. This is a fascinating summary of the evidence by an anthropologist who refers to sources and provides a bibliography.

**P.E.N., the Early Years, 1921-1926** (Archive Press, hardboard £1.50, paperback 85p). In its golden jubilee year, Marjorie Watts has written a brief account of the foundation of the club by her mother, Amy Dawson Scott, novelist, poet and spiritualist. Marjorie Watts was herself the first Secretary of this remarkable association of writers. Her mother's original idea, to form a dinner club for poet, playwright, editor and novelist, came to her in her Cornish home in 1921. The project developed into a much larger international community of writers in which Galsworthy played a particular part with Amy Dawson Scott. This little book shows the glittering array of literary talent which galvanised P.E.N.

**The Outing** (Dent, 30p). Dylan Thomas's charming childhood story has been published in a delightful slim paperback, with drawings by Meg Stevens. In his own words, 'it is all about a day's outing, by charabanc, to Porthcawl, which, of course, the charabanc never reached, and it happened when I was high and much nicer'.

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## THE ROLE OF THE CITY IN THE COMMON MARKET

by the Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor, Sir Edward Howard, Bt.

THE date for Britain's entry into the European Economic Community approaches fast; meanwhile every section of the nation is busy assessing how it will meet this challenge. This article examines the role of the City in the Common Market and how the various institutions can expect to fare within the enlarged community.

In the City, various bodies have carried out speculative studies; I have found their reports a useful source of information, but the opinions expressed here are my own.

That Britain's economic life will be profoundly affected when this country enters the European Community is agreed by everyone; I believe that this applies nowhere more than in the 'Square Mile'. If we grasp the opportunities that will be presented in the coming years the result will I am sure be beneficial to the City and what is good for the City must benefit the economic situation of the whole nation.

While the City's present standing as a world financial centre is an important factor when considering its role in the future, there are others which will greatly affect the position. These include: United Kingdom Regulations; the implementation of Common Market policies; the general competitiveness of British industry and the initiative shown by the City itself.

On becoming Lord Mayor I chose the theme *The City Serves the Nation . . . Today and Tomorrow* because I believe it is essential that the City should be looking forward rather than backwards. However, the twenty centuries that the City has been a trading centre cannot be ignored for they are the basis on which the future will be built.

In the 1860s the economist Bagehot wrote of the City 'it is by far the greatest combination of economic delicacy and economic power' that the world has ever seen. The various City Financial Institutions have built up their international reputation on two fronts: expertise and integrity. In the Middle Ages trade was centred on the Guilds, but under the Tudors the importance of the Guilds diminished and was replaced

by merchant capitalism. The Merchant Adventurers and others of those days were the fore-runners of the modern City business man; like the Adventurers, today's business man has not been slow to grasp every opportunity to improve his business methods by using the most modern technology.

The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. Geoffrey Rippon, has succeeded in negotiating the best possible terms for our entry into Europe. However, the final details have to be worked out and when it comes to finance the precise wording of legislation can be of vital importance. There is a Bill at present before Parliament which, though not directly connected with our entry, can have a great influence on our role in the E.E.C.

I am referring to the legislation covering the issue of Office Development Permits (O.D.P.s). Since the passing of the Control of Office and Industrial Development Act 1965, severe restrictions have been placed on the building of new offices within the 'Square Mile' because of the difficulty in obtaining O.D.P.s. This has been a major factor in the rapid increase in office rents within the City — between January 1968 and March 1971 new and modernised office rents in the banking and insurance areas more than doubled, and in some cases trebled.

In the leading Common Market centres, rents have risen much less than in Central London, and apart from Paris their current level is much lower. There can be no doubt that this difference is increasing rapidly. At the Guildhall Banquet held on November 15, 1971, in my first major speech as Lord Mayor, I proposed the toast of Her Majesty's Ministers. I pleaded with the Government to withdraw these unnecessary restrictions, which I believe would hinder the City's role in the Common Market. Within a week a Bill was introduced into the House of Lords to renew the system of O.D.P.s when the present legislation lapses later this year.

In a study carried out for the Committee on Invisible Exports by the Economists Advisory Group on 'Office Rents in the City of London and Their Effect on Invisible Earnings' the authors stated in their conclusion:

> 'Even accepting the good intentions of the planners, there is no reason to believe that they know better than the market what is the 'best' distribution of land use in the City or which are the most 'deserved' applicants for O.D.P.s. Indeed, we strongly believe that O.D.P.s have introduced an element of inflexibility and arbitrariness into the market process, in that supply has not been allowed to adjust itself to demand, in the way that would most efficiently allocate scarce resources.'

In the Economic sphere the basic tenet of the E.E.C. is that the prosperity of the members will be increased by the removal of barriers to competition. At the same time there is an emphasis on the need to introduce co-ordinated policies to ensure stability and growth, and it is the effect of these policies on the City that is considered here.

After our entry, the Common External Tariff (C.E.T.) policy of the E.E.C. would be introduced over a transitional period; combined with

the removal of tariff and quota restrictions as between ourselves and other member countries. This could have important 'trade-creating' and 'trade-diverting' effects on the value and volume of our visible trade. As many forms of invisible earnings derive from services linked to visible trade, these factors will have implications for the city.

At present the structure and rates of company taxation vary considerably within the Community and cause distortions and difficulties to the free flow of capital within the community. At present harmonisation is not in prospect but the British representatives on the various E.E.C. bodies will be able to play their part in deciding the form such a common policy should take. Two important changes in national legislation would be required: firstly, the elimination of double taxation on dividends and interest—this is only a matter of extending existing bilateral agreements; secondly, the equalisation of rates of withholding taxation within the community. The U.K. Government has outlined its feelings on the second point in its Green Paper on Corporation Tax which favours a 'two rate' system whereby the tax on distributed profits is considerably lower than on those retained (this system is used in France and Belgium). The effects of harmonisation on the City are uncertain, but if the Green Paper is accepted then I would expect the City's expertise in floating new issues to bring consequential benefits, but problems might arise for those with large overseas investment income.

Apart from Italy, all the E.E.C. countries introduced value-added tax (V.A.T.) at the beginning of 1971. At present the rate varies from country to country; but the aim is to have a standard rate (although exemptions and variations will still be permitted). Proposals have been forwarded by the E.E.C. Commission but have not as yet been approved by the Council of Ministers. The effects of V.A.T. will depend on its precise application and it could either considerably assist or hinder invisible exporters.

The E.E.C. Council issued a directive in 1969 calling for the harmonisation and simplification of duties on the issue and negotiation of securities by January 1972. While these measures will make life easier for brokers it is unlikely that they will have a great influence on the flow of capital as the amounts involved are relatively small.

Looking far ahead the Community will have Monetary Union; but even the first steps had to be postponed when the Germans floated the D mark in May 1971. However, the principle has been accepted by member Governments; I believe that monetary union will be an important stage in the development of the E.E.C. and that will encourage the flow of capital from one country to another to the benefit of the invisible exporters of the City.

There will be an orderly and gradual run-down of official sterling balances after our entry. In recent years the City has been less dependent on sterling balances; indeed, while the importance of sterling as a reserve

currency has diminished the overseas earnings of the City have increased —a great development here has been the establishment of London as the major centre for the Euro-dollar market.

The Treaty of Rome in Articles 67-73 provides for the liberalisation of exchange controls: the idea is to remove any discrimination so that there is free access to and placement of investment funds. However, little progress has been made as yet, although there are now virtually no controls on the movement of personal capital within the community; and there are no major restrictions on direct investment by companies from one country to another and the movement of portfolio investment has been eased (this last subject to some national restrictions). In Britain at present all these forms of capital movement are severely restricted outside the Sterling Area; there are either stringent conditions or premiums to be paid over the official exchange rate. These restrictions will be gradually relaxed over a five year period following our entry; it is frequently presumed that this relaxation will lead to a large outflow of capital. (The flexibility and attractiveness of the London Stock Market may well counteract this tendency.) An outflow of long-term capital will mean that the U.K. is acquiring assets overseas which should result in a return flow of interest, profits and dividends; it has been such investments in the past which have helped us build up our overseas holdings and increase our invisible earnings. Within the E.E.C. countries at present, national restrictions protect the small saver; while these may be necessary at this stage, it is hoped that they will be removed in the future so that full use of the City's financial 'expertise' can be used to the advantage of all investors within the Community.

Another factor which will affect the City's role in Europe is the industrial situation in the United Kingdom as a whole. If there is continuous industrial unrest, or the collapse of major companies, this could to some extent undermine overseas confidence in the country as a whole and even in the City; although the City may not be involved directly.

Our entry into the E.E.C. must be backed up by a getting together of Government, employers and the Trade Unions, for it is essential that our visible trade be competitive if our invisibles are not to suffer.

Most of the factors considered above are outside the control of the City; we who work in the 'Square Mile' are dependent on others to ensure that we have the best possible financial environment when we enter the Market. However, in the end, the role the City plays in the Common Market depends on the Financial Institutions, the companies and individuals who operate within the 'Square Mile'. We have built up our expertise over centuries and this gives us a head start over the other financial centres of Europe, but we will not be judged on our past but on what we are doing today and how we are planning to improve our services in the future. It is up to everyone in the City to make sure that we maintain our position in the Community.

I propose to examine here some of the individual services which last year earned this country £540 million net—more than any single manufacturing industry. One of the most powerful of these is insurance. The City is the largest insurance market in the world today; although New York has a larger volume of business, the London market handles a far greater volume of re-insurance.

The business done with Common Market countries is only about 4 per cent of the total overseas business undertaken by the various sectors of the insurance market. This is partly attributable to the fact that the E.E.C. countries have developed markets of their own, partly to the U.K. insurers' past concentration on English speaking countries; but it is also due to the restrictions on insurance being placed outside the individual country in force in Italy, France and Germany; Lloyd's of London are particularly restricted because the insurance is offered by individuals operating as Syndicates; where Lloyd's have operated in E.E.C. countries special legislation has been required and it seems it could not operate in Germany under the present law; British insurance legislation seeks to protect the policy-holder in whatever country he may reside, while most E.E.C. countries primarily protect the domestic policy-holder.

The great question for British insurance is whether or not the spirit of the Treaty of Rome will be reflected in a liberalisation of the laws governing licensing and the operations of insurers—'freedom of establishment' and 'freedom of services'. No policy has as yet been adopted, so the British representatives will have a part to play in its formation. It is essential that unnecessary restrictions are not placed on business with non-E.E.C. countries.

It is to be hoped that our presence at future talks will help to create a more liberal attitude. In the long term the U.K. Insurance Market should benefit from entry, provided it is not faced with too many restrictions.

The City Banking community have shown that they are ready to accept the challenges of a rapidly changing financial world with the bounding growth over the past few years of the Euro-dollar market. The strength of British banking was shown by the fact that this market came to the City rather than going to any other financial centre within the E.E.C. It is impossible to be certain of the effect of our entry into the Community in the field of international Banking as much will depend on the degree of freedom of exchange control effective when we enter.

It can be expected that by the end of the transitional period, following our entry, restrictions will be lifted on lending by U.K. banks to E.E.C. residents (and vice versa) except for some restrictions on short term loans; also there should be a liberalisation of regulations regarding guarantees or security given in respect of advances. The acknowledged expertise of the City Bankers will allow them to adapt quickly to any opportunities that may arise. While two-way trade with the E.E.C. countries is expected to rise substantially it is likely that an ever increasing proportion of this will be by cheque and less use will be made of documentary credits; as

the charges on the latter are higher, there is a possibility of a small net loss of earnings from such charges. Taking these and other possible changes into account the banks should benefit if only slightly from our membership of the E.E.C.

The Merchant Banks should gain some increase in their earnings if international mergers are given a new impetus; they should also benefit from a greater volume of investment business if U.K. portfolio investment in Europe and European investment in London increases.

In the spheres of merchanting and brokerage it is unlikely that either the Baltic Exchange or the Commodity Markets will be greatly affected one way or the other by entry. However, the Stock Exchange will almost certainly benefit from our entry. There are more stocks and shares quoted on the London Exchange than in all the markets of the Community put together; also our methods of dealing allow for greater flexibility with a large number of brokers compared with the markets being completely dominated by a few large Merchant Banks in many E.E.C. countries.

The equity capital of overseas companies stands at a Market valuation of £57 thousand million, which greatly exceeds that of British companies quoted. If transfer stamp duties are removed, it should go a long way to removing any reluctance overseas and particularly E.E.C. residents may have over investing in British companies. In addition one can expect many E.E.C. companies to raise capital on the London Market, although before this can happen it will be necessary for national company laws to be tightened up to ensure that the disclosures made by European companies measure up to the high standards required in order to obtain a quotation on our Exchange.

Lastly, shipping. The shipping account is not included in the City's invisible earnings; but the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping has its headquarters in the 'Square Mile' and many of the member companies are closely linked with the City. In tonnage terms the U.K. fleet about equals the combined fleets of the Common Market countries. But if there is an expansion of U.K. trade after entry and if an enlargement of world trade also follows, then any short-term losses of Commonwealth trade will in the long term be more than made up.

It will be obvious from what I have said that I believe that the City has everything to gain from entry into the Common Market.

As I see it, the City's role in the Common Market will be as the major financial heart, as was stated in the White Paper (Cmnd. 4279) para 92:

> . . . the contribution of the City of London should bring benefits not only to the United Kingdom, but to other members of the E.E.C. as well. The City can offer a wide range of financial and commercial services—not only insurance but also banking, shipping, merchanting, commodity markets and portfolio management—which is unrivalled outside the United States. With greater awareness of the diversity and sophistication of these facilities both we and our future partners can expect to gain increasing advantage.

It will be not only the City and those who work there who will benefit from the role we play, but also every citizen of the United Kingdom; because the prosperity of the nation is greatly affected by that of the City. Truly 'The City Serves the Nation . . . Today and Tomorrow'.

# INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS—THE LIBERAL VIEW

## by David Steel, M.P.

THAT most workers want nothing more of the law than that it should leave them alone, is a characteristic of British industry. Compared with those of similar democracies industrial relations in Britain stand out because they have been so little regulated by law.

The courts in this country have never developed any special code of law to deal separately with contracts of employment. The legal relationships between worker and employer has historically been defined by the ordinary law of contract under which the worker can take the employer to court if he fails to pay the wages and the employer can sue the worker if he breaks his obligations under the contract. Such labour law as existed has been established under common law and looks upon both parties as equals in a legally enforceable agreement.

The ordinary worker, however, scarcely recognises his individual contract but he will frequently be aware of agreements made on his behalf between his Union and his employer.

The work force by combination into trade unions attempts to restore to itself some equality of bargaining power in negotiations with employers.

Trade Unions first achieved legal status under the Trade Union Act of 1871, just 100 years ago. Since then the Trades Disputes Acts of 1906 and 1965 strengthened the legal immunity of the Unions which was in peril at the hands of judgements made by the High Courts of the land. Without these Acts, modern Trade Unionism would have been virtually illegal.

In 1966 the Labour Government set up a Royal Commission on Trade Unions and employers' associations. It was chaired by Lord Donovan. This constituted the first real attempt to undertake any real 'in depth' research into the problems which beset British Industry in the latter half of the twentieth century.

On investigation, the Donovan report confirmed that such labour law as did exist rested heavily upon the legal phenomenon of the individual contract of employment with the super-imposition of a voluntary system of collective bargaining.

'Collective bargaining is a term coined by Beatrice Webb,' said the Donovan report, 'to describe an agreement concerning pay and conditions of work settled between trade unions on the one hand and an employer or association of employers on the other. Thus it covers any negotiations in which employees do not negotiate individually and on their own behalf, but do so collectively through representatives.'

Donovan summed up the legal status of collective bargaining thus:

> 'In this country, collective agreements are not legally binding contracts. This is not because the law says that they are not contracts, or that the parties to them may not give them the force of contracts . . . it is due to the intention of the parties themselves. They do not intend to make a legally

> binding contract and without both parties intending to be legally bound there can be no contract in the legal sense . . . this . . . intention and policy that collective bargaining and collective agreements should remain outside the law is one of the great characteristic features of our system of industrial relations. It is deeply rooted in our structures.'

The Donovan Report was not in principle opposed to legal enforcement in trade disputes but considered legislation to be self-defeating in present circumstances as it would serve only to divert attention from the basic causes to the symptoms of the malaise which manifested themselves in the form of unofficial strikes.

In essence the Donovan approach was to reform and strengthen the voluntary system of bargaining and this approach was in general accepted by the Trade Union Congress. However, the Labour Government of the day mistakenly tried to bulldoze through a short Bill which included punitive measures never considered by Donovan, which were anathema to the Trade Unions. Due to this abortive attempt to assuage public opinion and to the defeat of the Labour Government in the General Election the way was left clear for the Tories to adopt Trade Union reform as a major campaign issue. It was ideal election material.

Intellectually the Industrial Relations Act of 1971 is a disgrace. It completely ignored the work carried out in the compilation of the Donovan Report and its main aim seems to be not to reform the process of collective bargaining but rather to attempt to legislate against strikes by imposition of a complex system of legal penalties (including imprisonment) on workers and Unions to stop unofficial strikes and other forms of industrial unrest. By attempting to cure the symptoms it will not cure the disease.

The Act should properly be called the Industrial Disputes Act as it will be of little use to employers who already have a working relationship with the labour force; it will only be of use to bad employers who will have recourse to legislation as a last resort to be used as a method of intimidating the Unions into doing as the employers bid.

The Liberal Party was opposed to the way the Bill was presented. As is so often the case in the British political system, reason was sacrificed to political polemics. The Bill was treated as a sectarian political issue which inevitably meant that irresistible socialist dogma collided with immovable conservative principle and the bill became another case of 'boss bashing the workers'; another symbol of Ted Heath's 'political virility' and the end result was that no one paid any attention to the contents of the proposals.

To a certain extent, because the Liberal Party had neither the desire not the apparatus to become involved in this ideological conflict, its views were largely disregarded.

This was a pity as the Liberal Party has a well thought out policy based on recognisable Liberal philosophy and it is a policy that is quite distinct from the policies of the other two parties. It is a reform based on the analysis of the *causes* of industrial strife.

Only the Liberal Party can *afford* to be objective, because it has not

got either industrial or trade union paymasters. Liberals believe that industry should be a partnership and that legislation, if it must be used, can only effectively be used to try to achieve this end. There are three main elements in the Liberal Industrial policy.

Firstly, the party advocates adopting a new basic standard format for the contract of employment for all workers stating clearly what the basic rights and obligations of all individuals are in the area of employment. This will reinforce the traditional legal basis for British industrial relations.

Secondly, Liberal policy maintains that the crucially important sphere of industrial negotiations is on the shop floor in the individual factories, and the party has pressed for the introduction of statutory Works Councils which would represent all employees and management.

This would provide a framework to ensure that participation came from all levels in firms of all sizes, and it would mean that nationally negotiated settlements would be discouraged or eliminated with certain exceptions and be replaced by plant level bargains negotiated through the Works Councils.

Thirdly, in order that participation should not stop at the shop floor, the Liberal Party has urged that employees should have the same rights as shareholders in electing directors to the company's board. Further, to upgrade the status of employees, the party has suggested offering substantial tax concessions to companies prepared to introduce comprehensive profit-sharing agreements with their employees though ensuring that any profit-sharing scheme would be a supplement to, not a substitute for decent wages.

The case made by the Liberal Party for Trade Unionism is not so much that it can improve wages and conditions of work; it is rather that it brings an element of democracy into an environment which would otherwise be autocratic.

In my view, however, the party needs to restate its policy in a simplified and clearer form. There should be less emphasis on traditional Liberal policies of profit-sharing and share ownership and more on the actual element of participation.

Much industrial unrest stems from the impersonal size and monotonous methods of working of today's industry. All the more reason therefore to introduce elements of human interest in the daily life of the industrial population. Liberals should therefore advocate the following priorities:

Firstly, that in all publicly owned industries, works councils would be set up, and employees would be entitled to elect, say, 33 per cent of the boards of directors.

Secondly, that all private companies introducing a ministry-approved scheme of industrial partnership along the lines of those in operation in nationalised industries would be entitled to substantial tax benefits. The principle of tax allowances for pursuing government policy is already accepted in the location of industry. It should now be extended to the field of industrial relations.

# RHODESIA — NO BASIS FOR AGREEMENT

## by Phillip Whitehead, M.P.

> 'We, who are members of the British Government's Commission, wish to tell you about the proposals for the future government of your country. After telling you what these are, we shall ask you whether you accept them. If you do accept, then the present disagreement will end and Britain will declare to all the world that your country is now independent. If you do not accept, then things will continue as they are at present and how this will turn out no one can easily say.'
>
> —Introduction to the Pearce Commission explanation of the Settlement Proposals, now being circulated in Rhodesia.

AS the Pearce Commission says in somewhat tendentious fashion, one of the strongest arguments for a settlement on the present terms is that no one knows what will befall if the terms are rejected. But that argument is not overwhelming. There are three approaches to these terms, just as there were to the agreement between Britain and the European Community. Some say that the whole history of our relations with Rhodesia since the break-up of the Federation has been disastrous, and that we must salvage something now even though the price has risen. That would, I think, be the position of Patrick Wall and others like him. There are those who say that the Smith régime is so deeply racialist and untrustworthy that there is no point in negotiating with it, and that the talks on *Tiger* and *Fearless* prove this as much as the Goodman package. And finally there are those who would try to reach agreement with Mr. Smith, but only when the moment is right. If the moment is wrong, the terms are unlikely to be acceptable to decent men.

This last is the position which I find most sensible. In retrospect, Mr. Wilson's ruling out of the use of force, and his miscalculation about the time scale for sanctions to become effective, seem equally disastrous if one dislikes the Smith régime. But they have happened. They cannot be undone. To refuse ever to talk to Smith is to accept that we must either revert to force ourselves, or wait until the African nationalists do the job themselves. I well remember the sad spectacle of the British R.A.F. presence in Zambia in 1966, unable to take off without the consent of Ground Control in Salisbury. That sort of demonstration of force was getting us nowhere, and it is unlikely that even that will be revived. But sanctions were a different matter. It is their increasing effectiveness which makes me dispute Mr. Wall's contention that Sir Alec Douglas-Home had a far weaker hand to play than had Mr. Wilson. He had a weaker hand at home, in that he faced backbenchers avid for sanctions to end, rather than pressing for them to be tightened. It was that, rather than the situation in Rhodesia, which made the Goodman package possible. For sanctions were progressively taking effect. Mr. Smith, with his excellent sense of timing, got to the conference table at a very convenient moment for him. There was a chronic shortage of foreign exchange, admitted in the 1971 Economic Survey of Rhodesia. This was in turn affecting replacement

rates in Rhodesian industry and transportation. There was a widening gap between consumption and production, and the rate of growth in the economy which supporters of a settlement always refer to was itself slowing down. The Rhodesian Minister of Finance, John Wrathall, said as much in October 1971, attributing it to 'Lower realisations on world markets for our primary products'. Mineral exports which had continued in defiance of sanctions were hard hit by falling world prices. In addition the Smith régime continues to be worried by the high rate of African unemployment (the proportion *in* employment has fallen from 17% to 14% in the past decade), and the growing number of young Rhodesian whites trying to leave the country.

With the possible exception of world mineral prices, none of these factors would be likely to ameliorate the Rhodesian situation—as long as sanctions were enforced. The worst thing about Lord Goodman's forays, therefore, is their timing. They came to a point of conclusion at a moment extremely advantageous for Mr. Smith. I do not for a moment question Lord Goodman's sincerity. No one who has read his speech in the House of Lords, or his apologia in the *Observer*, with their clearly expressed distaste for the Smith junta, could do that. But Lord Goodman's role in life is that of the Grand Conciliator, producing clever settlements out of court. The predominant factor in his mind seems to have been the hopelessness of the Africans' present position 'against a background of constant moral capitulation by every shade of government' going back long before U.D.I. It is perfectly correct that the present plight of the Rhodesian African, even including the appalling Land Tenure Act, is rooted in the development of Rhodesia since 1923, leaving out of account some aspects of the Garfield Todd administration. But is Lord Goodman right in thinking that the only alternative to his package is indefinite bondage for the blacks, until some bloody insurrection in the distant future? I think he has thought throughout in terms of a last chance settlement, when the continuation of sanctions (especially by a Conservative government defying its own backwoodsmen) would have brought Mr. Smith to the conference table in a more conciliatory spirit two or three years from now.

For Lord Goodman's package is in truth no thing of beauty to behold. It does not meet the five principles invented by Sir Alec Douglas-Home in 1964, to which successive British governments of both parties have adhered. Mr. Smith of course is on record as saying 'I don't believe in any of these principles. I don't believe they were principles in the first place'. Is there uninterrupted progress towards majority rule? Well, Mr. Smith's 1969 'parity' constitution remains in force, but somewhere in the distant future the Africans (95% of the population) will achieve a majority of ten in the Lower House. Throughout the slow process of adding African seats, which is unlikely to reach parity by the end of this century, the indirectly elected Africans (selected by the paid nominees of the government) will remain equal in numbers to those directly elected. The new Higher Roll will be open to Africans on fairly stringent income and

secondary education qualifications. It is *not* a mass franchise. It will be further slowed down by the provision that the increase in qualified Africans must be assessed as a percentage of the qualified white electorate. Therefore, the higher the rate of immigration following a settlement, the slower will be the increase in African representation. Rhodesia can import white voters once she is respectable again, to stave off any threat of majority rule. Suppose, nonetheless, that parity was looming? Could the spiritual successors of Mr. Smith (for he will have been long gathered to his ancestors) be prevented from amending the constitution? The old 1961 constitution, which Mr. Smith tore up, required a majority in each racial group, voting separately in referenda, before the entrenched clauses could be altered. But these proposals require only an affirmative vote by a majority of African members in the Assembly, within the general two-thirds majority. Given the number of indirectly elected Africans, who may well be virtual government nominees and therefore a payroll vote, only a tiny number of directly elected Africans would have to vote for such a change. What kind of safeguard is this?

Then there is the question of immediate progress towards the ending of racial discrimination. No Rhodesian legislation has been abandoned. The Declaration of Rights is indeed to be justifiable in the courts, but the courts will apply the law as it stands, from the infamous Land Tenure Act downwards. Just as the whole framework of public security laws stands untouched, so too does the pattern of racial discrimination. The Rhodesians have acquiesced in a Commission to be set up after settlement to examine the laws relating to racial discrimination. This is how the Pearce Commission document describes the catch in the agreement. 'The Rhodesian Government have said that the report of the special Commission will be very important and that they will bring to Parliament and support any changes in the law which may be needed to do what the special Commission recommends. There is only one exception to this. If they see that there are overriding considerations which any government anywhere would have to take into account, then they cannot promise to do this.' But the Rhodesian government is not just any government, and the Africans know it. The Tangwena tribe have been evicted from their lands in spite of winning a court order to prevent it. The Epworth and Chishawasha mission lands were on the point of being cleared when Sir Alec arrived, thus winning them a temporary reprieve. ('This matter will be settled after the Commission reports' says Pearce; the Africans know it will.) Assurances about finding fresh land for African settlement are unlikely to be taken seriously when the Africans, outnumbering the Europeans by 22 to 1, know that as a result of the Land Apportionment and Land Tenure Acts they have been left with only half the land.

But what will they be able to say to the Pearce Commission? For the fifth of Sir Alec's principles was that any settlement should be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. In 1964 he had in mind a referendum in which most Africans could have voted. Now we have the Pearce Commission. Whereas the Monckton Commission included Africans,

academics and churchmen, Sir Alec has limited Lord Pearce's henchmen in a way which suggests he has little confidence in an acknowledgement of acceptability being otherwise secured. There are no Africans. There are no churchmen. Lord Pearce's own rulings on the status of the Smith régime make him a very suspect choice as umpire to those who oppose the terms. One of his principal colleagues has already had to resign because of business interests in Rhodesia. His 16 assessors are mainly former colonial civil servants. Their interpreters are being provided by the Rhodesian government. Whilst they are testing acceptability 'normal political activities' will be permitted. Will they? As I write, news is coming in of the shooting at Gwelo, and the prohibition of Sir Dingle Foot Q.C. from entering the country to represent the interests of the detainees. Whether the latter will be seen by the Pearce Commission seems doubtful. Lord Pearce seems to accept the Rhodesian government's description of the Rev. Mr. Sithole. The shootings have led to further detentions, notably of Garfield Todd and his daughter, whom no one can accuse of being advocates of violence. Locking up Mr. Todd may be Ian Smith's idea of normal political activity. It is not ours. The police state has revealed itself but everywhere Africans appear to be saying 'No'.

The indications are that in spite of everything a considerable section of African opinion will follow the lead of the Christian Council of Churches, and oppose the terms. That this will happen has to be seen against all the impediments, the omission from the Pearce document of any of the disadvantages of settlement (or the consequences to the franchise of mass white immigration) and the harassment of the Rhodesian Police. Personally I hope that the Pearce Commission will, in its own good time, report back on African hostility. The fact that such a body, hand-picked as it was, had reached such a conclusion, might shake the Conservative government. It could of course use the conclusion as an irrefutable argument against backbench demands that Britain should sell out regardless. The odds are hopelessly loaded against such a conclusion, but there remains just a slight chance that the Rhodesia question will come back where it belongs, as a responsibility of the British Parliament and people. Only a government of overwhelming cynicism could at that stage abandon five million Africans to their fate. It will be for Mr. Heath to show whether he chooses to preside over such a government.

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[Phillip Whitehead, formerly producer for *This Week* and a member of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, is Labour Member of Parliament for Derby North.]

# THE COMMON MARKET—
# SOME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

## by Sir Patrick Donner

DEAN Acheson's famous dictum to the effect that the British, having lost an Empire had failed to find a role, may well have given an impetus to the thinking that this country now had little alternative but to throw in its lot with Western Europe and to try and create a viable, cultural, financial and economic unit.

Whether Anglicans, Lutherans or Roman Catholics we should in the Common Market all be Christians and Europeans together. 'Why shouldn't we make a go of it?' ask the younger generation in particular. If the younger generation is determined that we should join there is an argument for doing so now rather than later when the terms might be less favourable. 'We have so much in common,' proclaim the pro-marketeers. The assertion falls short of the truth in that it fails to convey the fact that until quite recent times we have fought the French for some eight hundred years. In the light of this persisting fact it has never been adequately explained just why the act of signing the Treaty of Accession by Mr. Heath should by itself change French nationalism, the French character or alter the course of French policies.

Indeed the fisheries dispute did more than highlight the problem of fish. It did more than highlight the boorish manners of Monsieur Schumann who took French leave, got into his car and drove away leaving the Conference and the delegates to get on with things as best they could without him. It revealed that French intransigence has not changed. It raised the horrid question as to whether we are in for disputes and dissension for the next eight hundred years. It led one of our most important newspapers, the Daily Telegraph, to refer to the Six, in a noteworthy change of tone:

> 'By their mulish behaviour and selfish attitudes, by their dilatory working methods, by their habit of taking long holidays regardless of what happens to be going on and by making themselves look desperately provincial, they could send the whole thing off the rails.'

If an avowedly pro-market newspaper can feel justified in a condemnation of this character it is hardly surprising if the electorate remains divided, puzzled and doubtful.

The arguments in the disappointingly arid Great Debate tend to concentrate on certain material aspects, and not on others of, perhaps, even greater importance. For example: If we join forces with the Six in an attempt to unify Western Europe should not, on the day we sign the

Treaty of Rome, France be required to rejoin N.A.T.O. and to offer some guarantee that she will in future put the *strategic* military needs of the Ten before her own *tactical* and national interests? The question has not been asked, the stipulation never made. Should it not be a condition of our entry? Or do we stand a better chance of persuading France once we are actually in the Market?

Maybe such a request is too much to ask of a nation which does not play cricket, but if the French remain unwilling to co-operate within N.A.T.O., unprepared to make Western Europe a militarily viable unit, the paramount question must arise as to whether the Ten can survive (with the prospect of a diminishing American presence on European soil) as an independent group of States in the face of overwhelming Russian military preponderance on land, at sea and in the air. Does the failure to insist upon full French military co-operation with and inside N.A.T.O. herald the Russian hegemony of Europe as only a matter of time?

These questions have been ducked, not faced, let alone answered.

All this underlines the supreme necessity of keeping our bridges open with the rest of the world, and above all, not to allow what little remains of our special relationship with the United States to be destroyed.

Many people, anxious to make up their minds about the Market objectively and without prejudice, remain baffled by the lack of answers to questions of prime importance: —

First, as our trade with the Common Market has been increasing faster than that with the rest of the world, why is it necessary to join at all?

Secondly, on the assumption that it is necessary or even desirable, the Market's executive commission is at the time of writing (January 1972) on the point of opening negotiations with the E.F.T.A. countries not applying for E.E.C. membership. The avowed purpose of these talks with Austria, Finland, Iceland, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland is to establish an industrial free trade area; and emphasis is placed on the importance of avoiding trade barriers between these Outer Six and Britain, Denmark, Eire and Norway after they have joined the Market.

On the face of it, the Outer Six will, if negotiations are successfully concluded, obtain substantial advantages from associate membership. In what way do these fall short of the advantages of full membership? More important, how far are these shortcomings compensated for by the fact that the Outer Six will not have signed the Treaty of Rome? Where does the balance of advantage lie? This we have not been told. In short, might we not be better off as an associate member?

How is it that these matters have never been properly clarified? How is it that few people have any conception of the substance and implications of the Treaty of Rome? And how can the public be expected to formulate a judgment without the relevant facts?

If we join the Common Market, we are assured, we will have a greater voice in the world. If we wanted a voice in the world why did we prematurely cast away an Empire which provided it? If we want a voice in the world, can we really accept as anything but an illusion that one voice in ten will provide it, especially bearing in mind that the Ten themselves represent a mere 10 per cent of the world's population?

The Six have done so well, it is claimed, because they have a large home market. Therefore we should join them and then a higher standard of living will be within reach of us all, not (it is admitted) in the short run, but with patience and hard work in the long run. But how is it that European countries outside the E.E.C. have grown as fast as countries inside? And how is it that the Common Market countries grew as fast or faster before the Market was formed than since?

Let us concede that the Six (like many others) have done pretty well in the past. But they are manifestly not doing well now. Germany is in the grip of an industrial recession. Italy has a million unemployed, etc., etc. What is plain surely is that insofar as President Nixon's measures prove successful and help the economy of the United States this improvement will be secured at the expense of Europe. So, if we join the Common Market will there not be something wrong with the timing?

So it comes to this that the Common Market is not expanding, but perhaps contracting. What of the future? It is a large market, but not as large as all that. Whether we like it or not, we must recognise the fact that the bulk of mankind live East of Suez. There are some three hundred million people in the Market. There are more than *five* times that number who live East of Suez even if we exclude China's seven or 800 million. And when we come to consider potential markets for British exports in the future are we wise to exclude China from our calculations? Admittedly millions of Asians are poor, but (unlike Africans) they have a background of centuries of civilisation, layers of religious thinking, of philosophy and of culture. There are millions and again millions with quick, agile brains determined to improve their standards of living. It is no accident that the most successful of our remaining colonies, Hong Kong, and the most successful of our former colonies, Singapore, are both Chinese. Only a man unfamiliar with the Far East can assert that during the next 20 or 50 years Western Europe will prove to be the area of greatest change and the area of greatest economic development in the world. That area is far more likely to be found in the triangle formed by Sydney, Singapore and Tokyo, and even more in a second one, Sydney, Tokyo and Washington. In brief, in the Pacific—the world's only ocean whose history is written in the future.

This development is in the early stages, indeed just beginning, and it is at this moment that we are invited to turn our backs upon it all in order to shrink and sink into Europe.

The prevailing economic theory is that Free Trade is a Good Thing, that Kennedy Rounds and fierce competition make for efficiency. It was not always thus. Before the war this country with its tariffs, quotas and Imperial preference enabled large numbers of people, even those of very average ability to marry, to raise a family, own a small garden and to lead a reasonable existence without undue anxiety. It was a way of life, without any American hustle and few duodenal ulcers.

It is fashionable to deride all this. Now 'protection' is a dirty word. Large markets, the larger the better, are the vogue. They provide opportunities for mass production. Competition is the thing. But the joke is that once Free Trade really gets going few think it any fun at all. In fact, many of those directly affected can't stand it. The Americans, not surprisingly, have reacted with some violence against Japanese competition. Here at home it is reported in the *Daily Telegraph* (December 9, 1971) that

> 'In an abrupt about-turn yesterday the Government announced that quotas as well as tariffs would be imposed on Commonwealth cotton textile imports from January first.
>
> 'The surprise decision produced a storm of protest from India and Hong Kong, while in Lancashire it was greeted as a Christmas present.'

And again: —

> 'Fears that a flood of imports in 1972, released from quota restrictions, would mean more mill closures and an unwelcome rise in jobless was one of the main reasons for the move. . . .'

There is no need to labour the point. On with the Common Market and its vast oportunities. If your market is Swansea (somebody said) you will, once we're in, be able to regard Toulouse and Düsseldorf as your home market too. He was careful not to add that this is a two-way affair. Nor did he trouble to explain just why Germans and Italians are so very keen to see us in. Not a whisper to the effect that both are confident that they can make substantial inroads into the British home market, thereby threatening the very existence of many an English firm and the livelihood of the men and women employed in them. He was careful not to explain that what the maximum amount of competition really means is the maximum amount of uncertainty, the maximum amount of anxiety and the maximum number of bankruptcies.

Nor did he add that the one thing you mustn't do as an English manufacturer is to suspect that someone, somewhere, be it in Milan or Turin, Marseilles or Frankfurt is more than likely to be producing exactly what you produce and perhaps more attractively at that, or better, or even cheaper, or with a novel design which will cut the ground from under your feet. Because if you so much as begin to suspect this then the one thing you won't do is to increase your investment and enlarge your production. Nor did he trouble to mention that there are people in the Market who actually like work.

The bad old protectionist pre-war system was in the main based upon the importation of tropical raw materials which we turned into manufac-

tured goods and, as a maritime nation, exported to the world at large. It was in essence a complementary economy. It not only made this country wealthy. It also made it a Great Power. The counsel now is to turn our backs upon ascertained experience, to join the Six and to compete with people who not only themselves produce everything they want but also very much the same things as we do.

This is all mistaken, out of date nonsense, say the pro-marketeers. There will be more mergers and larger companies to compete successfully with the Europeans.

Thus the prospect which opens up is that the sturdy independence of thousands upon thousands of small traders will disappear even more rapidly to become absorbed as employees of ever larger Corporations and international Corporations. The larger these become the more soulless and bureaucratic they become. The personal touch will disappear and with it the human touch. Can any of this create feelings of satisfaction among the new employees who formerly were their own masters? Can any of this makes for human happiness?

The Common Market enthusiast remains unaffected by such considerations—if he has indeed ever stopped to consider them. One such City zealot remarked that I.C.I. might well knock out the smaller French chemical concerns. It did not occur to him that we might not want to spend our lives knocking out smaller French chemical concerns.

And what of the workers in the Continental firms we render bankrupt by successful sales drives? Has anyone troubled to study the effects upon French and Italian workers already adversely affected by, say, German competition? Can it be that the effect has been two-fold: some have been embittered and become chauvinistic and ultra-nationalistic; others have become embittered and turned Communist. Much European history is a record of human suffering brought about either by excessive nationalism or by the cynical and brutal aggressions of Communism. Surely we can want no more of either? Then why breed both?

To sum up, we come to the transcendent question: *Is not the way of life, the quality of life, incomparably more important than the standard of life?*

So even if the standard of living were enhanced by joining the Common Market the question still arises whether the price is worth paying. There is more to the world than money. More than one inhabitant of Jersey who fled from United Kingdom taxation will now privately admit that one can pay too high a price for money. Is it not the variety of Europe that matters? Is it not the rich variety of European countries and races that is of such fascinating interest; the differences of thought, values, language, customs, habits, food, wine; the differences of Roman law and non-Roman law? If the Common Market aims at achieving anything, it is an attempt to unify, to ape the economic success of the United States and in

the process to iron out any differences which may stand in the way of this objective.

So, once again, is it not the variety which is of value rather than the introduction of mass-produced identical plastic pails? Can it be that the premises upon which the whole conception of the Common Market are based are not fundamentally sound, but false?

The Market is a way of life. Most Europeans regard it as a good one. But it is not the English way of life. It includes, *inter alia,* arriving at the office at 7 a.m. and in some cases and industries an hour before that. Do we see our people doing it? And if they don't, how will they fare in this new delectable system of nasty surprises and cut-throat competition?

Tell a man that the Civil Service is a fine body of men and he will agree. Talk to him about bureaucracy and he becomes incensed. Certainly the word bureaucracy does not automatically bring to mind, or even to the nostrils, the scent of Chanel Number 5. On the contrary, it raises the spectre of anonymous and faceless men who do things of which you disapprove and even things to your personal detriment, and against whose beastly machinations you have little or no redress. Some anti-marketeers, therefore, thought themselves on a good wicket when they started talking of an alien bureaucracy in Brussels which would usurp part of the sovereignty of Parliament and, to some extent, affect our daily lives. The public, however, remained notably unmoved.

The reason could be two-fold. First, the Market bureaucracy of Brussels has an impressive reputation for competence and objectivity. Their only aim is to make the Market work. And if you are going to have a Common Market this is no paltry or beggarly consideration.

Secondly, Parliament in recent years has assumed an arrogance and a conceit it never possessed before the war. It has passed legislation which moulds and colours the quality of life in these Islands—such as the abolition of capital punishment, immigration, divorce, abortion, homosexuality, etc.—when it was known and admitted that these policies flouted public opinion. On these issues parliament became unrepresentative. The patent failure of Parliamentarians, not for the first time, to provide adequate defence in a dangerous world has hardly endeared them to many who care for the country.

A Labour Government went a long way to destroy the aircraft industry when they cancelled the TSR 2. They did more than that. They actually destroyed the two existing prototypes. They destroyed the plans and the drawings. They destroyed the jigs and the tools ensuring that no future Government, concerned with the safety of the Realm, could build it. And finally on the great issue of principle—put to the test on October 28—whether this country should, or should not, join the Common Market, the Parliamentary Labour Party applied themselves less to the merits of the issue than to the slanging match of an internecine war. It follows that,

Parliament having forfeited much respect, crocodile tears are now unlikely to be shed by the public if and when some parliamentary powers are transferred to Brussels.

It is fashionable to criticise the farming policies of the Six and to refer to incompetence and old fashioned French farming. But at least it should be said that oxen still pull ploughs and fields are largely fertilised with cow dung, not poisonous chemicals. There is little inhuman factory farming such as goes on here and the meat and vegetables produced can hardly be said to be of lower quality than our own.

In conclusion, there is reason to think that the effects of joining the Common Market will, if it happens, prove nothing like so great as at first believed. Whether we join or not we must, to survive, put our own house in order, control inflation and improve labour relations to the point where we can work without so many strikes, overtime bans or go slow campaigns which in recent years have disrupted industrial production and damaged the economy. All this is surely a prerequisite to prosperity inside or outside the Common Market. Meanwhile having made such prolonged efforts to join the Market, it must be true to say that, should Parliament fail to pass the enabling legislation, this country will be bound to lose any vestige of credibility in European eyes. However, we have none of the French obsession with prestige. There are opportunities in Asia where the Americans, no doubt unfairly, are now disliked and we appear by comparison amiable and reasonable. We could resume arms sales to South Africa whether or not the internal policy of that country is any of our business. We are still a maritime nation with ancient ties and contacts which act as links far beyond the English speaking world. We are often at our best with our backs to the wall and if we suddenly found ourselves excluded from the Market we might with the aid of the new North Sea oil and gas discoveries make within a few years an impressive showing.

There could be hope for us yet.

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[Sir Patrick Donner, Deputy Lieutenant of Hampshire, and a former High Sheriff, was a member of Parliament from 1931-55.]

# MISUSE OF DRUGS IN MODERN SOCIETY

**by A. R. K. Mitchell**

MUCH has been written on the subject of drugs, both in the technical journals and in the popular press. The focus of attention has either been on the nature of the drugs themselves and the persons who misuse them, or on the more salacious aspects of drugs in relation to sex, morality and adolescent revolt. And yet this remains a very challenging subject because beneath the overt discussions of pharmacology there remain important questions with regard to human motivation, impulse control and our freedom to determine our own behaviour and experience in one direction or another. It is these deeper questions that I would like to examine in this article.

I should, however, at the outset, define my terms so that we shall not confuse communication in a field already confused by its emotional overlay. By *drugs* I mean those psychotropic agents which alter consciousness, either by increasing awareness and sensitivity, or by inducing a state of calm or ultimately unconsciousness. By *misuse* I mean the putting of these substances to uses for which they were never intended—for example, injecting substances more properly meant to be taken by mouth, or using sedatives in such a way as to produce a form of intoxicated euphoria. Misuse is also employed in the sense of using these substances in ways which contravene the laws in existence to curb their excessive or improper use. By *society* I mean every age group and do not intend to single out any particular group for special attention or special blame. An unfortunate development has been to consider drug misuse only in relationship to young people and to forget that there is a large, but 'silent' middle-aged group of the population equally dependent upon sleeping pills, stimulants and tranquillisers. The young suffer much from their tendency to excessive display and from their elders' need to look for scapegoats.

We are all, young and old, liable to fall easy victims to the seduction of the magical remedy. Like Alice in Wonderland, we remain convinced that somewhere there is some pill which will promise eternal youth, tranquillity, love, power or whatever our ultimate goal may be. We forget all too readily the lesson of the Sorcerer's Apprentice. It is not enough to have magic in our hands, we must also learn to control it. This may suggest to some that if we have this power of control, we would not need to resort to magic in the first place. Unfortunately it is those who so crave for magic that are most unsuited to use it by their own inherent failure to control their own impulses either for self-gratification or self-destruction. We are living through an era which is only one of many in which mankind has pursued, through the uses of various chemical substances, a clarity of inner vision or a retreat from painful reality into pleasurable fantasy. For some the aim has been to become more aware of the self; for others to escape from an awareness which is intolerable because of its intensity.

It is only natural that the products of the modern pharmaceutical industry should be latter-day inheritors of a long tradition of hopeful expectation of fulfilment—the leaves of the Coca plant, the juice of the dream producing poppy, the magical mushroom of the Aztecs, mandragora and belladonna, to say nothing of the release found in the liquid extract of fermented grain. There is not only man's long historical search for self-realisation through drugs with the ever present hope of finding it, but the propaganda of science which has led us to believe that the secrets of the universe have truly been given into our hands to use for our own delight. We have power over pain and over infection, might we not also now have power over human distress? Drugs are used because they are available. Drugs are available, because we have demanded that they should be. The patient's need is answered by the doctor's prescription which is supplied by the chemist's formula. We ask for drugs, our doctors legitimise them and our pharmacists produce them. The whole process is given the seal of approval by society because it seems to be necessary, appropriate and desirable. We have become the unwilling victims, not only of an atomic explosion of great power, but also of a pharmaceutical explosion of equal power.

Each of us as human beings is subject to the same tempests of emotion —love and hate, anxiety and hope, depression and delight, confidence and despair. This is our birthright and our inheritance. It is these same emotional storms that have driven us to explore and exploit our environment, but at the same time they have produced the dark night of the soul. The soul is that inner personal counterpart of outer cosmic space. We all become dissatisfied with the existence of things as they are and wish to see them changed. We all have a dim recollection of that pristine state early in our existence where there was neither pain nor death, neither hunger nor despair, and we have desperately hoped that drugs could become the passport to a return to that happy clime. Our mouths were the route of warm comfort and through our veins ran the stream of life. It is hardly surprising then that we have tried to swallow peace in a pill, or to inject security from a syringe.

We are living through a time of peculiar contradictions. We are simultaneously in a phase of greater material security and a phase of greater emotional insecurity. It had been hoped that making men's bodies more comfortable would bring peace of mind as well, but the opposite seems to be true. The more people strive competitively for literal survival, the more they feel identified with achievement and personal satisfaction. Once certain goals of material prosperity have been reached there is often a restless questing for something more to achieve, something more to conquer. The more we have achieved certain goals, the more we become dissatisfied with what we have got and dissatisfied with ourselves for wanting it in the first place. It is in this kind of setting that people are asking whether we have really made progress in the last 50 years or not; others question the traditional values and goals of the

establishment. This is the climate of opinion which allows interest in the use of drugs to flourish. The dreams of the drugged state become the guiding visions of tomorrow. Men have looked soberly into their own hearts and have not liked what they found there. They are therefore using drugs to explore more deeply, hoping to find more fulfilment in pushing back the frontiers of the psychedelic continent. I cannot help feeling that there are emotional limits to our capacity for self-fulfilment and self-satisfaction, so that no matter how deeply or exotically we explore into our inner personal space, we shall still come up against the restrictions of our very mortal existence. People are already finding that 'Horse is a cheat' (heroin does not bring fundamental peace) and that drugs do not deliver the promised goods. In the dreams of opium, poets have discovered Xanadu but within the promise of paradise there are 'caverns measureless to man, down to a sunless sea'. And anyway, we have to return from the pleasure domes to the realities of life as it is, not to the dreams of how we might like it to be.

Drugs misuse so readily lends itself as a weapon to be used in the battle of the generations. Drugs are one of the potent explosives we use to undermine the generation gap—that desolate no-man's-land across which rebellious youth and jealous middle-age face each other. Youth by its nature has to be rebellious. Youth is that time of our lives when we lay aside the dependence of childhood and take up the independence of adult life. The war of personal independence can only be won either by a face-to-face confrontation or a rebellion against the status quo. It may well be, however, that in the end having won its independence youth may decide that the status quo has much to commend it; but the decision is one which youth will have made for itself and not had thrust upon it. Middle-age by its nature in turn must be jealous. Youth is a time of glorious freedom, perhaps a freedom tinged with anxiety but a freedom nonetheless; middle-age is a time of constraint and consideration, when the satisfactions of the present often have to be sacrificed to the needs of the future. Middle-age will therefore cast a surreptitious glance sideways at youth and long for a freedom that once was and, much as old men ever will, recall that 'we did not have that kind of freedom when we were young'.

Old and young are both hedged about by frustrations, anxieties, doubts and despairs. *Anomie* and boredom come to each in turn and drugs suggest a possible way out: the stimulants to pep us up when we are down, and the sedatives to calm us when our anxiety is high. We can unwittingly step on to the merry-go-round of alternating phases of enforced stimulation and reactive need for sedation; up and down and round about; dexedrine to give us courage to talk and barbiturate to stop us getting too edgy or irritable; then dexedrine again to lift us out of the 'downs' that follow inevitably on the 'highs'; cannabis and L.S.D. for visions and then tranquillisers for the dreams which scare us out of our wits.

It is not surprising, if men are rejecting the false promise of material security, that they should turn again to explore and exploit the value of the dream world. Fact is given precedence over fantasy. Analysts like

Jung have long emphasised that man can only find peace if he comes to terms with his own dreams. There is therefore a fascination and a preoccupation with drugs such as the hallucinogens and cannabis which stimulate and release fantasy. There is a growing awareness of the value of the transcendental, the richness of the inner mysteries. Technological man, caught up in the restraints of finite matter, is captivated by the thought of a world in which the scientific laws of cause and effect and the rules of space and time can be neatly side-stepped, so that the environment of controlled efficiency may be exchanged for the domain of delightful experience. There is a renewed acquaintanceship with that aspect of experience which is called spiritual. But also, at the opposite extreme, there is an awakened interest in sensuous enjoyment—pleasure derived from coming face to face with oneself as one really is and living wondrously through one's senses. This is what Leary has called 'The Politics of Ecstasy'. And yet, not everyone enjoys coming face to face with himself as he really is. Coupled with the promise of great delight is the possibility of frank terror and despair. Not every acid trip is 'good' and the amphetamine user is at risk of having the 'downs' and the 'horrors'.

It has been said that there is no drug problem only a drug solution. Too much emphasis on the drugs, their mode of action, side effects and controls tends to hide from us the basic human feelings that underlie drug misuse. The drugs are only a means to an end, rarely an end in themselves. The individual or group faced with disturbing feelings is experiencing a problem. The only question is whether drug-taking is to be seen as a solution to that problem or not.

Drugs can be seen as a possible solution to an individual's problems. They can be used to alter his experience of his internal environment. In this sense it is a private matter. The user is in communication with himself. The drugs can also be seen as a possible solution to the group's problems. The tensions between members of the group are analogous to the tensions of an individual's internal environment. The group can control its anxiety or stimulate its fantasy as if it had a biological individuality of its own. Individuals then get lost or absorbed into the individuality of the group. It may be better to be a junkie in Haarlem accepted by other junkies, than be a square trying to come to terms with yourself. Likewise it may be better for the group to have a subcomponent to blame and to cast into a scapegoat role, than to have to face up to its corporate guilt.

Ultimately we come down to issues of control and dominance of one group over another, or the control and dominance of the larger group over the smaller component. Behaviour is identified which may be valued by the individual but which is threatening to the group as a whole, and therefore must be controlled and if possible eradicated. Mounting intragroup tensions favour the formation of witch hunts and ritualised public sanctions. The group will call on its strong members to discipline the weak; the group will call on the upholders of its laws and its value systems

to deal with those who threaten these laws and these value systems. They will have to be taught a lesson, or treated if they are conceived of as sick. Thus society calls on the Police, Teachers, Headmasters, General Practitioners and Psychiatrists to deal with this problem of drug misuse and the dissidents who are involved in it. Drug misusers are to be disciplined, punished, educated or treated.

For me the irony of the situation is that many of those who are called upon by society to deal with the dissidents, experience in themselves the very selfsame problems and personal dilemmas which have led to those becoming dissidents in the first place. The only difference seems to be that those who are said to be on the side of the angels have found a solution to those problems which is acceptable to the group. I have a suspicion that one can only be on the side of the angels if one has devils to pursue.

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The March issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes: *Malta* by General Lord Bourne, *The Power of Parliament* by the Rt. Hon. Michael Stewart, C.H., M.P., *Why Teach African Languages in a British University?* by W. H. Whiteley and *Smollett and the Sordid Knaves* by Donald Bruce.

# RESEARCH OR IMAGINATION

## by Dame Margaret Cole

WHEN I was invited to contribute an article to the *Contemporary Review* the editor suggested, as a possible theme, a sentence from a recent pamphlet published by the Fabian Society which referred to 'the need for a systematic long-term programme of research into future social, economic, and scientific developments'. This set me thinking about research, what it means and what it can and cannot achieve; and I found myself not altogether whole-heartedly in agreement with the quoted sentence, notwithstanding that those two great Fabians, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, 50 years ago declared so fervently—and then quite rightly—that what British society needed most was Measurement and Publicity. Times have changed since the Webbs wrote these words: we now measure like mad—many thousands of us, all the time, and Public Relations Officers grow on every bush (though this is not, perhaps, quite what the Webbs meant when they called for Publicity). Times have changed; and it is now getting more and more difficult to get a job of any standing in the world of education, for example, unless you can provide evidence, in the form of a Doctorate of Philosophy, that you have completed some 'original research' and written a Thesis which may or may not be published or publishable, and the contents of which may or may not be of use to anybody. I do not mean to imply, as a generalisation, that thesis-writing is of no value; but a study of some samples does create in my mind something of a fear that we may be returning to that practice of the Middle Ages whereby similar dissertations, leading similarly to promotion, were produced on the interesting question *How many angels could balance on the point of a pin?*

I do not wish unduly to labour this point, though it is of some importance as indicating the current methods of selection of teachers for higher education. What I am more concerned with is whether we are not conducting, at the present time, too much research and compiling too many statistics, particularly in the very wide field of what is called 'the social sciences'. (I am not making any assertions about research in science proper or in applied technology, in which I have no qualifications to be a judge.)

We can ask innumerable questions—nothing is easier than to ask questions—about the social and economic conditions of the present time which seem to be so far from producing a Utopian society; and we have, further, an immense and rapidly growing apparatus for providing the answers. Computers and all that goes with them, fact-gatherers, processing laboratories, volumes of statistics as readable as Sanskrit and armies of writers and lecturers to explain them to the uninitiated—we are all but

drowning in a flood of information, some of which, it would seem, is of startlingly little value when you look at the amount of time and human energy which has been expended in compiling it. Was it, for example, worth while spending large sums, as was done only the other day in an enquiry into the trials of commuters in London, in finding out the exact percentages of travellers who thought that travel in the central portions of the Bakerloo Tube during rush-hour was very uncomfortable? or—a smaller enquiry made a year or two ago—that children whose parents smoked cigarettes were rather more likely to contract the habit than those children whose parents did not?

Could not a simple combination of observation and commonsense have given as adequate answers to these questions without all this paraphernalia? And on questions to which the answers are not immediately apparent—the Common Market, for example—has the immense spate of opinion polls and their analysis and all the rest of it, produced anything more, over the nation as a whole, than an enormous query? Instances could be multiplied to right and left: what they all go to show is that we have a huge flood of information available, as it were, on tap—but very much less ability to make any significant use of it.

Part of the reason for this may be that we are asking the wrong questions. The Vice-Chancellor of Lancaster University, in two short chapters of a very intelligent and thought-provoking little book which everyone ought to read (*Wealth*, by Charles Carter (Pelican), chapters on *Knowing Too Much* and on *Too Many Statistics*), points out that 'clarity of understanding does not grow indefinitely with the growth of information, for eventually the mind is submerged and confused by the flood of facts and impressions. We operate, necessarily and at all times, in all important decisions, on information which is incomplete and imperfect'. And it is particularly incomplete and imperfect in that the statistical 'habit' tends to lay stress upon factors in decision-making which are quantitative, like the number and make of cars passing a given point during a named period in the day; or worse, to apply quantitative measurements to something which is essentially qualitative—often with the air of a falsity like a Five Point scale. 'Do you think Mr. Harold Wilson,' says the investigator, 'Very Bad, Rather Bad, Neither Good nor Bad, Rather Good, Very Good?' and solemnly tabulates the answers, as if that could tell you anything precise. As Mr. Carter explains in a later page of the same book, it is impossible to decide upon statistical evidence the priority as between the need of Manchester for water supplies and the unique beauty of the scenery and the associations of the Lake District. Yet it is decisions of this nature which we continually have to make, and on which the kind of research I am talking about can give us rather little help. Research *into the past*, can, it is true, tell us something about the decisions which were made, and which most people can now see were wrong—in road building for example, and in high-tower flats, to say nothing of the assaults upon the environment which are now getting so much attention—but except for the light it may show on why those deci-

sions were made, as a warning to be on our guard, it cannot tell us very much about the decisions *for the future*—those which we have to make here and now. It is this condition of things which make me feel doubtful about the proposition in the pamphlet which the editor brought to my notice.

For I do not believe that a *systematic long-term programme of research* into 'future developments' is a really practical idea. We know, or could know, as I have suggested, too much about the facts of today; we do not know, and cannot know, nearly enough about the facts of tomorrow to design any long-term programme. I suppose this is less true of the scientific field than of any other; we *are* given, from time to time, a certain amount of information about the sorts of things (with the largish exception of preparations for war and 'defence') that scientists are currently trying to do, and even, to some extent, what effects they feel their experiments will have on the world and on our lives. We have television programmes like *Tomorrow's World*; we have articles and paragraphs in newspapers and journals about what scientists are up to. But, quite apart from the great lopsidedness which the omission of all information—except where some accident, some disaster or merely some leakage, throws an extremely unwelcome public light on what is happening in some Government or government-assisted laboratory which is devoting its attention to experiments in biological warfare or something of that nature—all that we, the public, get is bits and pieces, scraps of information which may be momentarily interesting, but which certainly do not build up into a *programme* of any sort, nor are capable of being so built up. *Tomorrow's World*, as seen on T.V., is not a world at all—just a collection of gadgets. Beyond that, what we get is really speculative *prophecy* about what the scientists and technologists are likely to do with the world—books like *The Biological Time Bomb* and others of its kind, which are sometimes, though more and more infrequently, optimistic in their prophesyings, but much more often the reverse, heavily doom-laden. But doom-laden or otherwise, they are speculations varying with the mood or the convictions of the speculator—not research.

And what is true about science is ever more true about those latecomers, economics and the social sciences, where what the active researchers are trying to do is ever less programmed, and its results ever less predictable. We would, I imagine, with the effects of the nineteenth century industrial revolution staring us in the face, with hideous insanitary streets and coal-tips ready to slide down and overwhelm villages like Aberfan—we could have anticipated, though we did not, some of the effects which modern factory production and modern transport were going to have on the air and water of our environment, and been fairly correct. But there is no such possibility in the remaining sphere. After infinite argumentation, and bundles and bundles of 'results of enquiries' we still seem to have no idea—no effective idea—of what factors make

workers produce more or less; and as for some other subjects—in the field of education we have had an immense amount of enquiries and reports, governmental and otherwise, and at the end of it all, we find that the standard of reading, in the area of inner London, is deplorably and manifestly low—this in a society which depends for its very existence on an effective standard of practical literacy. The makers of the Education Act of 1870, with all its well-known faults, at least did rather better than that. Perhaps a single historical incident, in the field of social-economic 'planning', will illustrate what I mean.

During the war, and for some time after it, we had, as a good many readers will remember, a pretty strict system of food rationing under which the scarcer items of food which were not, like meat, fats and sugar, absolute essentials of life, could be bought, with a certain amount of choice, with what were called 'points'—little bits of paper which could be snipped off from sheets in ration books. At one time, when the situation was a trifle easier, jam and marmalade were 'taken off points', i.e. they could be bought freely. As this concession did not lead to any general run on jam, the same procedure was shortly afterwards adopted for sweets —with the result that the more affluent citizens of this greedy country cleared the shops of sweets in no time. This was a quite unforseen and highly unplanned effect; but could any research, long-term or short-term, have anticipated it? Highly improbable, I should say, for the ultimate factor in the disappearance of the sweets from the counters was the behaviour of the people, and the reaction of the people to a new situation was unpredictable, and I think it still is, notwithstanding all the painstaking labours of the psychologists and the sociologists, all the opinion polls and the street-by-street enquiries so carefully and mathematically analysed. We simply do not know what people are going to do or how they are going to behave—we do not even know how they are going to vote in a general election. And who would have predicted, to change the subject violently, that landings on the moon, which created such an enormous initial excitement, would within so short a time become such a commonplace incident as to bore even Norman Mailer almost to tears?

In these modern days, when whatever is formally agreed or done about 'participation' the attitudes of thousands of millions of ordinary men and women is so important a factor in settling the fate of even the most minor social experiment, the fact that we do not know at all accurately what these attitudes will be, and have no real means of finding out—though of course there are, as there always have been, persons of abnormal sensitivity or powers of guessing who may be able to anticipate with remarkable accuracy—makes me a sceptic about 'systematic programmes of long-term research into developments'.

What I would plead for, rather, is a much greater use of imagination in forward planning, since forward planning there must be. One of the unfortunate results of the plethora of information of which Charles Carter writes, is that the planners are so busy reading pages and pages of

printed reports and absorbing, or at least trying to absorb, masses and masses of statistics that they have literally no time to sit back and think for an hour or two what they are doing and what its effect is *likely* (not *proven*) to be on the lives of those who will be affected by it. I still believe that if those in control had had a little more imagination and (more important) given their imagination more time to work, *some* of the evils which we now compendiously call Pollution need not have happened. But I mean *imagination*—not fancy or fantasy, of which there is plenty about. By fantasy I mean seizing hold of some single fact or group of facts which exists or is likely to exist, and 'extrapolating', that is to say, pursuing its possible development to the extreme end, without taking account of anything else. Most often this fantasy is preserved in the world in novel form, as Science Fiction, the bulk of which, except for those cases in which a genius like H. G. Wells takes it up, is really a sort of super cross-word puzzle and not interesting to those who do not enjoy puzzles; but a portion of it, such as *The Naked Ape* and books of that kind, masquerade as scientifically exact prophesy. I do not mean *1984*, or anything of that sort. What I mean by 'imagination' is the power to look at things as they are, in their surroundings, natural and human, and see how they are likely to develop—not how they might conceivably develop if you let your fancy roam—and with what effect on life. And if this seems an imprecise description, I would mention the name of Rachel Carson. Rachel Carson, in *The Silent Spring*, wrote about what she saw of the results of pesticides etc. in the United States, with exact observation and well-judged prophecy about what would happen next, if nothing were done. Plenty of people accused her of exaggeration; but she was not exaggerating, and her passionate imagination really persuaded the American authorities to put an end to some of their more disastrous practices. What I am in this final paragraph pleading for is more Rachel Carson, more people in high places who will stop to listen to them, more imagination among the planners. For planning for development without imagination is hell: it is Ronan Point, the little houses abutting on Westway, the birds dying on San Francisco beaches, and the dead fish choking up the Rhine.

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# ROUSSEAU

## by Robert Niklaus

ROUSSEAU is one of a small number of writers whose works remain a live force in our society. Like Tolstoy with whom he has a close link he is often taken for a false prophet and also sometimes uncritically worshipped. New interpretations abound and the four volumes of his works (to which a fifth and final volume is to be added) critically edited by a group of Genevan scholars for Gallimard in the series, *La Pléiade,* will give a fresh impetus to Rousseau studies. It has been reported that the sales of this edition have exceeded the most optimistic forecasts. This is less surprising if one recalls the claim that Rousseau's *Confessions* are the most widely-read book in the world after the Bible. The *Confessions* and the *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire* which follow provide the key to the understanding of his work. Professor R. Grimsley in an important book published in 1961 has brought out Rousseau's growing self-awareness; the lonely and introspective search for stable moral and personal values. It is in fact his grappling with the complexities of life and his attempts to achieve self-knowledge which interest the reader today. Rousseau has probed into the very core of his being even further than Montaigne. As an egoist Rousseau has few equals; and his sincerity at once real and involuted is at the root of his many paradoxes. The latter have validity precisely because they spring from a realisation of his true self. Whether we are attracted or repelled by his personality we feel the power of his intellect and respond to the magic of his language which we can sense even in a translation. In all his works we find ourselves confronted by a strangely living personality reaching us across time.

Whilst earlier critics believed that the sole exception to the overall unity of Rousseau's thought was the *Contrat Social,* Professor J. H. Broome, in his study published in 1963, has brought out the main features of the works which he takes in their chronological order, and seen the *Nouvelle Héloïse* as the only book failing to fit into his pattern. Perhaps the real unity of Rousseau's thought is to be found in his personality?

Rousseau was essentially an escapist who took refuge in himself, and by so doing became the father of romanticism; and, by preaching a return to nature and analysing sensations, introduced into literature a new sensibility. But he has also been heralded as the father of surrealism and of existentialism. Well before Proust he realised the powers of imagination and memory in recreating reality, and the possibility of playing with time. 'En me disant j'ai joui, je jouis encore'; he wrote, bringing out his desperate search for happiness, which made him a poet, author of some of the finest prose poems in the French language.

Yet Rousseau also tackled the basic social and political problems of his day. Although he himself abandoned his children, he wrote the first really important modern treatise on education; albeit in the form of a novel.

His ideal system of education involved one teacher for one pupil and is the work of a man who was himself self-taught, and who, moreover, was well aware of his own deficiencies. But his life shows clearly enough that for exceptional people little formal schooling, let alone university training, is necessary. Rousseau was even successful in entering the allegedly closed circles of high society in Paris, in spite of his accent and poor manners, owing to the originality of his mind and personality, even before he had made any mark as a writer. In *l'Emile* he stressed the need to learn from experience, to assimilate what one is taught and to develop freely according to age and stage of development? These views, taken up by Pestalozzi, Mme. Montessori and J. Piaget, to name only a few, were derived from reflection upon personal experience and observation. Rousseau's aim was to make the child morally and intellectually self-reliant, and to prepare him for real life, away from social stress and immune from harm. He was convinced that the development of a well-balanced personality was a prerequisite to good citizenship, thereby supplementing his views on government. Since man was alienated from his original nature a new system of education was required if a new and better political system was to be established. He pinpointed basic principles which he penned in a telling way. Even if the methods he advocated involved artifice, they were subordinated to overall aims which are generally acceptable. Real education for him was not mass education; but a slow developing progress within the individual himself, requiring a personal effort of adaptation of the individual to the society in which he is to live, and also the ultimate strengthening of spiritual values cultivated for their own sake. He was thus at once fundamental and pragmatic.

Through his first *Discours,* an exercise of some 20 pages, which won him the prize of the Academy of Dijon, he acquired a notoriety which he never lost. In it he upheld the thesis that developing culture leads to political slavery and moral vice, luxury and corruption. Few today would endorse his analysis, but most would question whether material and cultural 'progress' necessarily entails greater happiness. His call for a return to nature has not been answered since the 'noble savage', to use Dryden's term, is a myth. But it has met with a positive response if nature is interpreted as natural man. His second *Discours* which deals with inequality among men distinguishes two forms of inequality, the natural based upon diversity of faculties and moral or political inequality. Full equality can only be realised in a society of innocent savages, and inequality necessarily follows when civil laws replace natural law. The noble savage has vanished from our midst, lingering on only as a dream, and we no longer believe in the sweet simplicity of life in Tahiti. It still has its validity as a concept, an expression of a deep-seated aspiration to a better and happier world. Natural man can now only be found in oneself. For Rousseau man was born essentially innocent, and not good, as has often been alleged.

Man, born free, with equal rights, must alienate some of his freedom to the general will if an ideal society is to be established. Rousseau's

advocacy of freedom could thus in practice lead to a form of state despotism as is constantly being pointed out; but in Rousseau's view this would not be the case if laws truly reflected the general will. He failed, however, to set up the mechanism which would ensure the manifestation of this general will which he saw as necessarily right. Rousseau's *Social Contract,* the object of a special study by L. G. Crocker, published in 1968, is part of a total enterprise and forms a single socio-political system. It is uncertain that Rousseau was pursuing his efforts to fashion a man and a society according to his heart. But whether L. G. Crocker is right in thinking that an archetypal totalitarian society has to be postulated in order to illuminate Rousseau's thought is still uncertain. Rousseau must have had the example of Geneva much in mind. We still need to turn to C. E. Vaughan's edition of the text, first published in 1918, if we wish to study the history of the idea of contract as a theory designed to account for the origin both of civil society and of government. It remains pertinent to study the relation between Rousseau's individualistic tendencies as expressed in his *Discours sur l'inégalité* and *Emile,* and his equally strong conviction that the individual in his own interest must be subordinated to the State. The chapter in the *Contrat Social* on civil religion still contains much that is relevant and, more generally, his writings on religion can now be re-appraised in Professor Grimsley's book of extracts on the subject, drawn from many volumes of Rousseau's work and especially his letters chronologically presented.

In *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse,* a work that is not yet available in an English translation but was once extensively read, the human problem is central; but there are philosophical and moral undertones which have their source in dreams and fantasies as well as an awareness of reality. Its title points to a modern, lay version of the story of Heloïse and Abelard; and its terms of reference are the new philosophy as opposed to religious prejudice. In it we can distinguish a social doctrine. Yet life and philosophical doctrine are for ever opposed. Upon reflection we realise that Rousseau is telling us that only man in society need fear tyranny, that political society rests on a theoretical rather than on a real contract between free, intelligent men capable of choosing a form of government. If the alienation of the individual is total, inequality and injustice may be avoided; and there can be no tyranny if all obey the general will. Social man, therefore, achieves true freedom because all sovereignty lies with the people. The *souverain* in Rousseau's analysis is clearly not the Legislator, but the community as a whole. The *volonté générale,* if often unenlightened, is always right. Perhaps Rousseau's chief merit in this short but substantial work is to have brought out the fact that all forms of government have only temporary validity. His other excursions into the field of government, his *Projet de Constitution pour la Corse* and *Considérations sur le gouvernement de la Pologne* are texts which should not be too closely linked with the *Contrat Social* in a vain attempt at formulating a coherent, consistent doctrine.

Today, in any case, we find Rousseau's political theories less revolu-

tionary than in 1789; certainly less so than those of Diderot, who master-minded the Revolution which he anticipated and sought to legitimise. Rousseau's commentary on the Abbé de Saint-Pierre's proposals for establishing peace has relevance, even if the brand of liberalism which is its mainspring has become outmoded.

The unity of Rousseau's works which we sense without being able to demonstrate it fully comes from the nature of the man himself. Life for him was more important than literature or politics. In his last and finest work, the *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire,* he stated that the man who had written *Emile* and *Du Contrat Social* was dead in him. We see the noble savage himself, driven to solitude by his fellow men and by his own persecution mania clearly revealed in his earlier *Dialogues.* Now we find that his long search for happiness has met with success. He has found a key which cannot be taken away from him. Turning his great analytical powers inwards he forgets his enemies and his readers to write as if he were pleading his case before the tribunal of God. He confesses and excuses his sins. More significantly, he finds in the power of his imagination and in his capacity for abstraction the possibility of denying the hostile outer world and taking refuge in a happy world of his own creation. He goes back in spirit to the island of Saint-Pierre in which he had spent happy moments, recreating with the help of memory a past which he colours, just as the beloved Julie was more present in her lover's mind when she was absent. In his *cinquième rêverie* he pinpointed a state of perfect bliss, a moment of ecstasy achieved by lying semi-conscious in a boat on a lake where movement is sufficient to keep alive a sense of well-being which perfect stillness would destroy, for perfect stillness is death. Men, as they grow old, tend to remember the unpleasant incidents in their lives. Rousseau was able to control his mind and, somewhat surprisingly, dwell on happy memories, including that of Madame de Warens, whom he called 'Maman', perhaps the only true love of his life.

Thus idealism and realism seem to converge at an interesting point of consciousness. If his state of ecstasy could not long be sustained, he achieved at least a partial escape from human misery which is withheld from most men. Herein lies the greatest attraction of his work. Paradoxically his considerable intellectual effort at grappling with the fundamental issues of his time, his awareness of the principles at stake, his efforts to find a satisfying social and political theory, were not divorced from practical application as has sometimes been asserted, but have their relative truth and validity in his own personal experience. It is best to return to the *Confessions* and the *Rêveries* and to his multi-volumed Correspondence now being critically re-edited by R. A. Leigh, for the key to the understanding of the work as a whole. This is what L. G. Crocker has endeavoured to do in *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: The Quest,* 1712-1758 (1968) of which the first volume only has appeared. He presents Rousseau as the first introspective, the first alienated man of modern times to place his ego under a spotlight. He brings out Rousseau's ambiguities and the impact of his devastating critique of society.

Present day readers may well find in Rousseau's greatest works the poetry of an ultimately happy man, endowed with a great intellect and sensitivity, a deep humanity, devoid of fanaticism and aggressiveness, the extaordinary resilience which prevented him from placing first the needs of a society with which he knew he should come to terms. There is in his literary production a kind of revenge on the insanity of the world at large. When considering a full life, the inmost recesses of the mind are more important than politics. Whether Rousseau was a Protestant or a Catholic, a Swiss or a Frenchman, an upholder of democratic freedom or the initiator of some terrifyingly modern state despotism, he remained chiefly himself, an individual whose moral sense grew late, who frankly confessed his guilt whilst seeking to excuse his 'crime'. Contemporary writers and nineteenth-century critics have often decried the man, hypocritically professing to be shocked by his self revelations: but today we know more about the workings of the subconscious mind and make the necessary allowances. With a newly-found tolerance we can accept that one of the leading rationalists of his age could have a deep-seated religious sense and a highly developed moral consciousness. His ultimate message to us is the truth of poetry. The magnitude of his contribution to world literature and to the history of ideas cannot be placed in question.

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# THE WORKING CHILD

## by Terence Davidson

HE is often small for his age, he may be homeless, and he is certainly not getting enough rest. He is one of the saddest of twentieth-century anachronisms, the child labourer.

He may be toiling all day in the stifling atmosphere of a dusty Asian textile mill, or struggling with a plough on a Latin American farm. Or he may spend half the night looking for shoe-shine customers on the streets of an African city. The work is of course of varying degrees of severity, but no part of the world is without its working children.

The problem is a vast one, and it can never be truly conquered until we root out the fundamental cause — poverty. But we cannot for this reason allow ourselves to shrug off the plight of the under-privileged boy or girl who is forced to start earning at too early an age, and so is deprived of education, rest and decent prospects for the future. More must be done to protect working children, and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) is now mobilising efforts to do so.

A specialised agency of the United Nations, the ILO is dedicated to the pursuit of social and economic progress throughout the world. It has for many years worked to eliminate the worst evils of child exploitation. At first it set standards regulating the minimum age for admission to work, and the recruitment of youngsters for unhealthy or dangerous jobs. Then it went on to fostering vocational training and guidance with a view to promoting productive employment, the soundest antidote to mass poverty. It gives high priority to such work in its programmes today, and is experimenting with newer methods such as prevocational training which, in developing countries, can help young people to find a useful place in society despite their lack of formal schooling.

The most recent action by the ILO has been to consult its 120 member States on the manner in which the existing international labour standards on minimum age for admission to employment should be brought up to date. The International Labour Conference, the ILO's annual assembly, will consider the creation of new standards when it meets in Geneva in June, 1972.

Preparatory ILO investigations have shown the extent of the child labour problem. It is estimated that in 1970 there were more than 40 million children up to the age of 14 at work throughout the world, and that more than 90 per cent of them were in the developing countries.

In South Asia, for example, there were estimated to be in 1970 some 25,371,000 working children, or 5.4 per cent of all children. In Africa there were 5,992,000 (4 per cent); in East Asia 5,830,000 (1.9 per cent); in Latin America 3,122,000 (2.6 per cent); in Europe 1,600,000 (1.4 per cent); in the U.S.S.R. 1,066,000 (1.5 per cent); and in North America 311,000 (0.5 per cent).

The types of work they were doing were as diverse as the world itself. They were to be found in factories and workshops, on building sites, on the streets, in domestic service and in agriculture.

Let us take the factories first. Child labour has by no means disappeared from them, although it is rare today to find children working in the larger and more modern industrial enterprises. It is in small factories that government officials and ILO experts often find children clearly below the legal minimum age. Factories of this kind, relying on minimal wage and other costs to survive, occur most frequently in Asia and to a lesser extent in Latin America; they also exist in parts of southern Europe and in depressed areas of more industrialised regions.

A survey of factories employing more than ten people in an industrial area of one Asian country in 1965 showed that children, especially girls, constituted a large part of the work force. Children as young as six were working eight to fourteen hours a day, seven days a week, for a pittance. They toiled in overcrowded, poorly lit and badly ventilated premises. The work force included whole families, with a parent or other older relative alone listed on the payroll and receiving payment for the entire group.

The factories concerned were making or packing such things as bottles, cigarettes, textiles, sweets, biscuits and seafood. Adults in a cigarette factory were hiring child assistants, either at a fraction of what they actually earned, or on piece rates.

A survey of textile factories and workshops in the same area two years later revealed similar conditions, and showed that nearly half the working children under the age of 16 have never been to school.

More serious than the use of children for odd jobs or even on production work is their employment for dangerous tasks. Cases have been reported from various countries of children working in firework factories, glass-blowing, carrying pieces of incandescent glass, using toxic dyes, working in dusty textile mills and so on. Children are still being exposed to extremes of heat and cold in the manufacture of confectionery, in foundries and near furnaces and unguarded machinery.

While child labour in factories is becoming less common, there remains a danger that factory inspectors may be unable to detect all cases. The inspection service may be inadequate, or it may be foiled by the efforts of the children themselves to escape detection.

Factories are only part of the picture, however. Thousands of children are to be found in small workshops, cottage industries and handicraft undertakings in the cities and towns of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. Many more, in these regions and in Europe as well, are known to be engaged in such tasks as weaving, spinning, sewing, embroidery, metalwork, leatherwork, woodwork; others make pottery, carpets, clothing, shoes, toys, buttons and baskets.

These enterprises are to a large extent family ones — but not always. Child workers in them are often described as apprentices. They are, in a sense; but their training tends to be slight, the work strenuous. They are treated like servants and they do not get the rate for the job. Here again, lighting, ventilation and sanitary conditions are generally poor. Safety precautions are negligible, and children operate acetylene torches and cutting or piercing tools; they have to work near furnaces, and perform other dangerous tasks.

It is common to find that children are indirectly employed in this type of work. They are introduced to the workshop by their parents or by other adults presumed to be their parents; they work as helpers in the charge of adults, and are paid by them rather than by the proprietor. Since these adults themselves tend to be low-paid, it is easy to imagine the derisory return such children receive for their efforts.

Boys below the legal minimum age appear to be widely employed as casual labourers on building sites in most of Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, and in southern Europe. They are required to clear debris, carry equipment and do other jobs for low wages, often at serious risk of accident or injury.

Different but no less grave hazards await the large numbers of children who work as street vendors, shoe-shine boys, sweepers and car-park attendants. They are often very young, homeless and grossly exploited by adults. As if this were not bad enough, they are forced to spend long hours on the streets until late at night, exposed to weather, traffic fumes and moral dangers. Conditions are little better for many of those who work in cafés, restaurants, hotels, shops, garages and barbers' shops.

Another largely uncontrolled occupation is domestic service. Widely regarded as traditional children's work, it is often quite legal since the minimum age for it may be 12 or 13, or not prescribed at all. But, legal or not, this is a form of employment that is wide open to the worst abuses.

In some countries it is common for very young children—mainly girls in Central America, the Middle East and some parts of Asia—to be brought from the countryside to the cities and to be virtually sold into service by people who may or may not be their parents. It may often be true that such children enjoy better conditions than they would at home, but without any kind of supervision there is always the danger that they may be overworked, neglected, maltreated or exploited in some other way. Efforts to secure some kind of control by means of legal registration requirements have had little success.

In the world as a whole, however, it is agriculture that employs the bulk of the working child population. Traditionally children start work at an early age on land cultivated by their parents, and this applies to Europe and North America as well as to the developing countries.

Odd jobs, tending livestock and a certain amount of field work are done by young children almost everywhere, and a distinction has to be made between this and the use of child labour on plantations and other agricultural undertakings which operate on a commercial basis.

The direct control of the employment of children in the traditional sector of agriculture in the developing countries is generally not practicable. Until such time as parents no longer need an extra pair of hands, and schooling is universally available, there is little hope of reducing the use of unpaid family workers.

Work on commercial undertakings is a different matter and, while this is less widespread than family work, an appreciable amount of it is done by children in developing countries.

Most countries have some legislation regulating the minimum age for admission to employment on plantations, but its effectiveness is usually limited. Piece rates and quotas encourage parents to set their children to work when there is money to be made.

While light work may be legally permitted under certain conditions, it is not uncommon for children to do heavy work such as ploughing, or planting and harvesting cotton, rice and sugar-cane.

Children work for wages on small farms in some regions. An ILO-assisted survey in one Middle Eastern country in 1964-65 showed that children aged between 6 and 15 in the areas investigated were employed for between a third and a half of their time. It was common for small farmers to hire children and women for weeding and cotton-picking while they themselves were earning higher wages elsewhere than they were paying.

In southern Europe many children are employed as farmhands or in tending animals, usually at low wages and sometimes for little more than food and lodging. Many of these children have dropped out of school, or attend only irregularly. This kind of employment exists in northern Europe too, though it is less widespread and more subject to compulsory schooling requirements.

Farm work in general is not as healthy an occupation for children as might be supposed. They are subjected to physical strain, heat, dust and — increasingly — to the danger of mechanical accidents which take young lives and cause needless suffering.

The aim of next June's International Labour Conference will be to give shape to unified but flexible draft standards which, after review and final adoption in 1973, can be observed by countries at different stages of economic development. These standards will, it is hoped, provide guidelines for modern national legislation and help focus more attention on the importance of protecting children who are at the mercy of conditions not of their own making.

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# POLISH WHO'S WHO

## by S. Kleczkowski

THE Polish colony in Great Britain, numbering about 135,000, out of a total of some 250,000 Poles who have served during the second world war under the British Command, will provide the largest number of names to be included in the forthcoming publication to be published in London in 1972-73.

Its editor and chief compiler is Mr. B. O. Jezewski, leading Polish authority on this type of undertaking, who has to his credit such well-known and useful publications as *Poles Abroad Directory* (7 volumes), *Polonica in Great Britain*—a list of the most important Polish historical and cultural relics in this country, and *The Polish London*, a Polish guide to London and everything Polish, of which eight annual volumes have already been printed, and which lists all the Polish organisations, clubs and associations, cultural, political and social as well as commercial enterprises; also Polish theatres, restaurants, bars, food shops, etc.

*The Polish Who's Who* will contain about 6,000 names of Poles still living in this country and in other free countries, i.e. the U.S.A., Canada, France, Brazil, Argentina. There are about 14 million Poles to choose from; some 12 million Americans of Polish descent living in the U.S.A. alone. The second largest Polish group dwells in Canada dating from about 1860-70 and, more recently, from the Second World War. There are approximately 350,000 Canadians of Polish descent. In Europe the largest groups undoubtedly live in France where over one million Poles have settled since the Napoleonic wars. In spite of 150 years of separation from their native country, they continue to preserve their spiritual links with it, and yet serve France loyally and faithfully.

Thus, Mr. Jezewski's publication will have plenty of material to draw upon, and the work of its compilation will tax the energies and resourcefulness of this young man of 70. Thanks to his great effort, the Polish élite, now settled outside the borders of Poland will acquire an historical record of its contribution to the cultural heritage of the countries of their adoption.

High upon the list of this important book will be the names of Poles who have distinguished themselves in science, research and industries, as well as Polish political, military and religious leaders, soldiers and civilians, university and college professors and teachers, civil engineers and architects, artists, journalists and writers (some writing in English) as well as many successful businessmen. But British Poles, if such a term can be used, will provide the largest list of contributors, which explains the character of the Poles who have settled here since the end of the second world war. The value of this volume will be further enhanced by the fact that many of them

already occupy important positions in this country's economy and, while preserving their Polish cultural heritage, identify themselves with the British ideals and way of life. At the end of this publication will be included a list of Poles who are holders of British decorations.

*The Polish Who's Who* will thus fill an important gap in the 'biographica' of a new element in Britain's national life since the end of the Second World War, which has nothing to be ashamed of, and is proud to act as a useful, hardworking, loyal and law-abiding faction despite the tragedy which befell it at the end of the war, within the country which gave it hospitality. It will be, undoubtedly, the first publication of this kind dealing entirely with a foreign minority, which will bring it closer to the life of this country and other free countries in the world.

While the *Polish Who's Who* or, to be exact, *Who's Who Among Poles*, will deal entirely with Poles living in Britain, the Commonwealth, the Americas and elsewhere, the *Poles in the World* covers names of Poles who died between 1900-70. Eight volumes of it have already appeared, and it will serve as a source of valuable information for future generations of Poles in this and other countries The booklet on *Polish London*, while providing useful hints for Poles who do not know the city very well, also serves as a direct link between them and those who wish to contact them from abroad. No other minority group here can boast of such a practical and informative publication. Mr. Jezewski also published in 1962 a booklet listing all the Polish newspapers, magazines and publishers all over the world — no mean an achievement. Although the number of these publications is dwindling, chiefly for economic reasons, others are springing up in their place to help cement the spiritual and intellectual links between the Polish expatriates. Before the Second World War there were 14 Polish dailies in America. Now there are only four. One of them, the *Nowy Swiat* (New World) of New York, has collapsed recently after 50 years of uninterrupted existence, but there is talk of starting a new Polish daily in New York. In London there is only one *Polish Daily*, but about half a dozen magazines, and many new books are published each year.

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[*Who's Who Among Poles*, edited by Bohdan O. Jezewski, will be published in 1972-73 by Taurus Publishers and Distributors, Ltd.]

# THE TALE OF THE TRAIL

## by Gene Gregory

'THE Lao-Vietnamese frontier at Tchepone has been disputed since the French colonial days, when Tchepone was governed as part of Vietnam,' insisted the calm and inscrutable guerrilla chieftain with smouldering black eyes beneath heavy brows, slightly greying hair and an immaculately trimmed moustache, his distinguishing trademark known all over Laos. 'The North Vietnamese quite naturally claimed it after the departure of the French; no Lao official has ever visited it and no Laotian military post has ever been established there.'

After a brief pause, he continued his defence of Hanoi's recent invasion of Laotian territory, speaking slowly in flawless French and looking thoughtfully across the verandah toward the broad Mekong flowing past his headquarters, a sprawling old French colonial villa.

'The North Vietnamese are the friends of the Laotian people. They have no need of territory that does not belong to them.'

The time: January, 1959.

The place: Vientiane, Laos.

The speaker, nattily dressed in white bush jacket, was the 'notorious' Red Prince, Tiao Souphanouvong, titular head of the Pathet Lao.

This was my first meeting with the man who had led the Lao Communist forces since 1945 and represented them in the coalition government formed in November, 1957, after arduous negotiations with his enemy half-brother, Souvanna Phouma. This attempt at reintegration of the Pathet Lao into the Royal Lao government had not gone at all well, to say the least. Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of the ill-fated first coalition government, had been denied the confidence of the National Assembly on an issue of monetary reform and resigned in July, 1958, and the new government formed by Phoui Sananikone excluded Souphanouvong and the only other Pathet Lao member of the coalition, Phoumi Vongvichit.

Between December 23 and 29, Hanoi gave its answer to the turn of events in Vientiane, and to the failure of attempts by Pham Van Dong to open negotiations with Ngo Dinh Diem on the reunification of North and South Vietnam. Two companies of regular North Vietnamese soldiers were suddenly dispatched across the border into Laos, laid siege to Tchepone just south of the 17th parallel in Savannakhet Province, and established effective control over what was to become the vital halfway pivot of the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

The 'Ho Chi Minh Trail' had not yet entered the glossary of the Second Indochina War. Although the trail existed and had already become an artery for traffic from North to South, infiltration was limited, clandestine and usually on foot — once the surreptitious traveller had left one of the various rocky mountain passes on the border for his long trek across Laos.

As early as 1956, mountain tribesmen in remote highland villages at the Southern terminus of the trail — which I had reached after several days' trek through the jungles on foot — told me, a travelling companion and a guide about North Vietnamese, who had come to neighbouring villages, married into the tribe and settled in to develop staging areas, way stations and supply depots for a steadily increasing flow of men and material.

By 1958, the first North Vietnamese guerrilla forces were operating in the lowlands of South Vietnam. Organised agit-prop activities were conducted in Vietnamese communities of Cambodia and Northeastern Thailand, laying the groundwork for insurgency in those countries. To maintain its contacts in these three areas, infiltrate trained cadres from the north, and receive back couriers and recruits for indoctrination, Hanoi depended on jungle-shrouded trails of eastern Laos, along which men and supplies could be moved with near-perfect concealment. It was a two months' march through Laos into South Vietnam or Cambodia, somewhat less to crossing-points on the Mekong River into Thailand, but only a matter of days in an end run around the Demilitarised Zone (D.M.Z.) at the 17th parallel.

By the summer of 1958 it had become clear to the leaders in Hanoi that whatever possibilities might have existed for the reunification of Vietnam, bifurcated under the Geneva Accords of 1954, these possibilities no longer existed. It had also become quite apparent that South Vietnam, where against enormous odds Ngo Dinh Diem had managed to form a surprisingly stable nationalist government, was not going to collapse in the chaos that followed the withdrawal of the French, and opportunities for communist political action there were restricted. From this point in time, Hanoi's guerrilla action in both Vietnam and Laos began a gradual escalation. The North Vietnamese occupation of Tchepone marked the beginning of the Second Indochina War.

Few people were in a position to know better than the Red Prince the significance of this move, and few people were in a position to be less candid about it. Since his entry into the Laotian political arena in 1945, at the head of a Viet Minh unit, later transformed into a group of technical advisers to the forces which were to become the Pathet Lao, Souphanouvong has been Hanoi's man in Laos. He, perhaps more than any other political figure, is the incarnation of Hanoi's Indochina strategy. Despite his tongue-in-cheek disclaimer, he was perfectly aware of the importance to Hanoi of Tchepone and the trails it controlled. For Hanoi, it has from the outset been all one war, and the Ho Chi Minh Trail has been its vital link.

To the North Vietnamese leaders, an Indochina strategy is second nature. The Lao Dong Party is, lest it be forgotten, the successor to the Indochina Communist Party. On the military plane, it was an Indochina strategy masterminded and artfully executed by General Vo Nguyen Giap that defeated the French. And, just as it was North Vietnamese forces

operating in Laos in 1953 and 1954 under the cover of the Pathet Lao who provided the intelligence and other conditions essential for the final defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu, Laos was to provide the labyrinthine marshalling yard and the all-important avenue for the men and material needed to stage the Second Indochina War and its peripheral insurgency in Thailand. Souphanouvong's task was first and foremost to keep the Trail open, and only secondarily was he to be concerned with the seizure of power in Laos.

On the face of things, this was a task for which the Prince is ideally suited. As a graduate civil engineer from the prestigious *Ecole des Ponts et Chaussée* in Paris, Souphanouvong had been responsible for the construction of many of the roads and bridges through the mountains of Laos and North Vietnam in the latter days of the French colonial administration. But, more important, he had shown during the previous fifteen years that he could be relied upon to carry out Hanoi's instructions to the letter, or at least to the extent of his capabilities.

Significantly, Hanoi chose not to utilise the Red Prince's skills as a civil engineer. The Trail was expanded to its present 1,550-mile network of motorable roads, tunnels, bridges and river crossings largely by a massive North Vietnamese construction force — using conscript Lao coolie labour; in addition, the North Vietnamese engineering and transportation corps has now connected at least ten waterways with the system. In Hanoi's view, the maintenance and security of this transport complex is much too important to leave to the Laotians.

Allied sources estimate that more than 55,000 men of the North Vietnamese 559th Transportation group have been working to keep open this vital link in the Indochina war. They include the gamut of forces from a 12,000-man anti-aircraft unit to guards, guides, drivers, warehouse workers, porters and combat engineers.

Souphanouvong and his 24,000-strong Pathet Lao have been given the task of waging a surrogate war to keep the full force of the Royal Army pinned down North of the trail on the Plain of Jars and in the lowlands of the Mekong Valley. Spurred on by orders and supplies from Hanoi during each dry season, the Pathet Lao, accompanied by heavy reinforcements of North Vietnamese troops, launch an offensive which takes them to the very outskirts of the small provincial town of Luang Prabang that serves as the Royal capital. But they never take the town, nor do they actually threaten the life or security of the King, although there is much common ground among military experts that they have the capability to do so.

This is the last thing Hanoi wants at this stage of the war, however. A serious threat to either the monarchy or the government in Vientiane would provoke the deployment of global military and diplomatic forces which might well mean the end of North Vietnam's privileged sanctuary in Laos and its use of the Ho Chi Minh Trail area of the Southern Laos panhandle. In Hanoi's long-range planning of the war, there is plenty of time to worry about settling things in Laos, once the mission in South Vietnam is completed.

To achieve this objective, between December, 1958, and December, 1970, Hanoi sent more than 500,000 men down the trail. From a modest 10,000 men who travelled the Trail southward in the three-year 1959-61 period, in 1962 alone an additional 13,000 personnel infiltrated into South Vietnam; and by the end of 1970, intelligence reports indicate, the infiltration rate had reached 200,000 men a year — almost twice as many as the 110,000 who had reportedly moved south in 1969.

To be sure, the Trail is also a pipeline for supplies, by every possible means of transport: trucks, bicycles, elephants, oxcarts, the backs of men or women, and now sampans and barges which move over the network of connecting rivers and canals.

Prior to the March, 1970, overthrow of Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia, 80 per cent of the supplies for the 60,000 North Vietnamese troops in that country, and a large portion of the 120,000 in South Vietnam, were shipped by sea to Kompong Som and transported to the Vietnamese frontier by trucks of the Cambodian army or private truckers who assured comfortable kickbacks to politicians in Phnom Penh. Now Hanoi's dependence on the Ho Chi Minh Trail is almost absolute. Laotian Premier Souvanna Phouma was not at all exaggerating when he declared: 'If Hanoi lost the Ho Chi Minh Trail, they would lose the war in a few weeks.'

If there had ever been any doubts in Souvanna Phouma's mind about the importance of the trails to Hanoi, these were erased in June, 1969, when the North Vietnamese ambassador to Laos, Le Van Hien, paid his second visit to Vientiane in four years. While on the previous visit to attend a royal wedding he had snubbed Souvanna, this time he had come 'bearing gifts'. His offer was direct and to the point: North Vietnam would stop the offensive in Laos where it was, removing any threat to Luang Prabang, Vientiane and the Mekong Valley, would begin to withdraw some troops and, in due time, would be willing to discuss a political compromise. All Souvanna Phouma had to do was bring a halt to the American bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Hanoi was seemingly willing to trade a stalemate in Laos and a cessation of hostilities in order to attain its objectives in South Vietnam first. But Souvanna, whose past experience with Hanoi was hardly of a kind to inspire trust, refused.

During the early months of 1970, after Souvanna's rejection of the first offer, his half-brother Souphanouvong made a similar peace offering. He would lay down his army, come back to Vientiane and join the government, if Souvanna would call off American air strikes on the North Vietnamese supply routes through Southern Laos.

There was nothing new in this willingness of Souphanouvong to place vital North Vietnamese interests above those of the Pathet Lao. And, quite clearly, the vital interests of Hanoi called for a cessation of the bombings of the Ho Chi Minh trails, which evidently have been hurting much more than the North Vietnamese have been prepared to admit openly.

Incessant U.S. raids during the past two years have transformed the Trail into a Highway through Hell for the drivers of some 3,000 Soviet-bloc trucks said to be in use on the trail prior to the South Vietnamese invasion of Laos. Trucks move mainly at night from one way-station to another. Food, shelter, medical facilities, as well as storage space and repair shops, are provided by these stations, fixed about one day's march apart along the trail. Supplies move methodically from one way-station to another over a period of 15 to 30 days before reaching their destination in Cambodia, South Vietnam or supply dumps in the Lao panhandle.

According to recent U.S. intelligence analyses, about 179 tons of supplies move on the trail each day through passes at Mu Gai, Ban Karai and the road complex west of the D.M.Z. Nape Pass and Barthelemy Pass further north have also been used, but mainly to support the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao forces in the Plain of Jars area. While a year ago 62 per cent of all Communist trucks were successful in reaching their final destination, the U.S. Air Force claims that, during the last October 15 to January 15 period, only 1 ton in 32 actually reached frontline troops.

To offset these heavy losses, the North Vietnamese have simply increased the number of vehicles they are sending down the trail, at a terrible sacrifice of even more trucks and critically scarce drivers. With these saturation tactics, estimates made before the attack of Saigon forces indicate, the North Vietnamese were expected to be able to boost deliveries to about 1 in every 5 tons.

The actual limits of Hanoi's capabilities in maintaining this flow remain open to question. As the emergency February 18 meeting of the Central Committee indicated by its decision to draft women for work to relieve able-bodied men for military service, the acute manpower shortage in North Vietnam imposes very definite physical and human limitations on a continued go-for-broke effort to keep the trail open.

Nor are the supplies of trucks and spare parts for repairs unlimited. Best estimates put Hanoi's transportation force at some 12,000 trucks, of which 7,500 are reserved to carry southward the 160,000 tons of food and material disgorged by freighters from the Soviet Union and East European countries. To keep this transport system equipped, Russia is furnishing North Vietnam with some 350 trucks monthly and Communist China sends another 75 to 100. Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland and even Romania have also been contributing to Hanoi's vehicular pool. But, with all this, the flow of trucks was not sufficient to replace the heavy losses on the Trail, even before the South Vietnamese incursion in Southern Laos placed still heavier strain on Hanoi's available transport facilities.

While the bombing of the Trail has caused the North Vietnamese heavy losses in material, it seems not to have seriously affected their ability to infiltrate troop reinforcements into South Vietnam. As a rule, troops travel in battalion strength of 500 to 600, staying off the wider, more exposed truck roads and using a completely separate system of primitive paths which were the original Ho Chi Minh Trail. Here the hazards are

natural ones such as malaria, cholera, leeches and the torrential monsoon rains, all of which take their toll in lives and illness. A ten per cent loss, due to illness, during the two months still required for the Laotian leg of the march is about average.

Two dramatic events in the past twelve months have vitally affected Hanoi's logistic problems and its trail strategy. The overthrow of Sihanouk in March, 1970, not only deprived North Vietnamese forces of their principal avenue of supply and support for the Viet Cong; the resultant combined military action of Cambodia and South Vietnamese forces destroyed large reserves in arms, ammunition and quartermaster items. Before the problems this had created were resolved, South Vietnamese troop attacks on the Trail in force for the first time in the twelve years of its development as a major transportation artery created further grave problems for the already severely strained resources of the North.

The closing of the port of Kompong Som had forced Hanoi to revise drastically its strategy in Laos, deploying additional combat troops for the occupation of the Southern provinces of Savannakhet, Saravanne, Attopeu and Champassak. To achieve this objective, and the ultimate opening of a new high-speed infiltration and supply route across the Bolovens Plateau to the Sekong and Mekong rivers flowing into Northern Cambodia, a frontal assault on key cities and military installations in Southern Laos was necessary, and necessarily costly. Men and material needed to extend the trail through this region have been considerable, and losses due to the added exposure to bombing raids and counter-attacks by Laotian forces have been heavy. North Vietnamese troop commitments in Laos soared to 90,000 in 1970, and demands for imported coolie labour, as well as for Lao tribesmen, increased.

How long the North Vietnamese could continue to take the pounding they were getting in this over-extended three-front war had already become a question of concern to some leaders in Hanoi, as well as in Moscow and Peking. Quipped one East European diplomat in Phnom Penh, during the South Vietnamese attack on the Trail; 'The North Vietnamese have been beaten and don't know it.'

Chou En-lai's successive visits to Hanoi and his spectacular exercise in 'ping pong diplomacy' strongly suggest that China, which continues to supply 70 per cent of North Vietnam's military assistance and some 600,000 tons of rice a year, may have come to the conclusion that Hanoi can no longer sustain a major war effort of current proportions. Supposing South Vietnam attacks the Ho Chi Minh Trail again, and a third and fourth time? Given the considerable domestic problems in the North, with production in both agriculture and industry suffering from severe man-power shortages, added to the problems of party leadership and discipline in the wake of Ho Chi Minh's death, Hanoi is in no position to weather the serious defeats on the southern front that would follow effective interdiction of the flow of supplies and reinforcements for forces over the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Nor, for that matter, can Peking afford to have the much-touted Vietnamese model war of national liberation miscarry.

However much of a mauling the South Vietnamese took in their attack on the Trail, post operational assessments indicate that Hanoi suffered a setback of at least six and maybe eighteen months in its logistic timetable for the war in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

More important, Saigon is in an even better position for a second strike on the Trail, and the South Vietnamese Army seems to have the capability to keep up the pressure almost indefinitely while, according to best estimates, Hanoi clearly cannot continue its defence of the Trail at so high a cost in men and materials.

This is likely to be the critical and determining consideration in Hanoi's forward planning of the war. Would China have made all those threatening noises about an attack on the Trail being a threat to its security, only then to execute the most intricate, fascinating and almost certainly influential about-face on relations with the United States, if indeed the vital spinal cord of the war effort were not seriously threatened? A corollary question concerns Peking's insistence that it was a mistake in the first place to have escalated the war to a conventional confrontation with the U.S. in South Vietnam. Given the reverses in Cambodia and South Vietnam, and the new threat to the Trail, are the North Vietnamese now at long last ready to accept Peking's counsel to reduce the level of fighting on all three fronts to guerrilla insurgency proportions and concentrate on winning the political war where, they have always maintained, their principal advantage lies?

Definitive answers to these questions will come only with time. But there is substantial evidence that the mounting threat to the Trail, as Souvanna Phouma has suggested, may well have become the decisive factor in a gruesome, inhumane war of which the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian people — in whose name it is presumably fought — have had their fill. Quite clearly, the key to the Second Indochina War is the battle of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, a battle that is likely to be even more decisive than Dien Bien Phu was in 1954. The difference is that it is now the North Vietnamese whose human and material resources are strained to the breaking point.

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[Gene Adrian Gregory lived in Vietnam for fifteen years, working in Laos for much of the time between 1950 and 1963. He writes regularly for newspapers and magazines in the U.S.A., Asia and Europe, mainly on East European and Asian affairs.]

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## SPAAK LOOKS BACK

*The Continuing Battle—Memoirs of a European 1936-66.* Paul-Henri Spaak. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £4.90.

This personal history would prove a useful text-book for any student of Contemporary European history, because the author has been identified with every new initiative for over thirty years. It should be compulsory reading for pro- and anti-Marketeers in this country. Paul-Henri Spaak has been Prime Minister and Foreign Minister in his own country of Belgium; Chairman of the United Nations Assembly; Chairman of the Strasbourg Assembly; Secretary-General of NATO for four years 1957-61. This must be a record without parallel.

I am glad to read at last an authoritative account, from the pen of an active participator, of the exciting years when a group of distinguished Europeans influenced affairs—including Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet from France; de Gasperi and Martino from Italy; Adenauer and Hallstein from Germany; Beyen, van Kleffens and Luns from Holland; Bech from Luxembourg; Marshall, Acheson and Harriman from U.S.A. Britain comes out less well, with the exception of Winston Churchill and Harold Macmillan, though Bevin's part in the Brussels Treaty and Eden's in creating Western European Union receive special mention. De Gaulle and Spaak never understood each other. Of course Spaak has some original material on two specifically Belgian themes, his relationship with King Leopold and a long chapter on the Congo and frequent references to what he calls 'the dialogue of the depth' with the Soviet Union, but the body of the book is concerned with European-Atlantic affairs.

Mr. Spaak was the initiator of what I have called in another book (*Towards a European Parliament,* published by the Council of Europe, 1938) the *Messina Method,* which consists of allowing the statesman to devise the architectural principles and apply the stimulus but calling in the experts and technologists to build the structure. Robert Schuman was, like Spaak, a man of high vision and principle, but between them and others they devised the Coal and Steel Community and later the Common Market. Again it was General Marshall who set in motion what is now NATO and indirectly what is now called OECD. Of course we can look back in perspective on the fateful years round about 1948, but no future historian will be able to ignore their immense significance.

Perhaps Mr. Spaak could have spared us some of the many quotations from his own speeches, but by and large he was the chief energiser of half-a-dozen major international organisations; he is fully entitled to tell his own story, the story of the most illustrious European of our times. More than any other man, he laboured to make European and Atlantic organisations work. I wish that I could conclude this review by saying that Britain projected men of equal calibre. Until the emergence of Edward Heath, we tended to sit on the side lines, to put forward schemes on the periphery of European politics. Of course we had our own peculiar problems, the Commonwealth, etc. But the 'Messina Method', named after M. Martino's constituency in Italy, where in fact the Treaty of Rome was hammered out, happens to be a very British method. The tragedy was that we had no outstanding statesman who foresaw in time

the trend of things to come. Harold Macmillan came nearest; he had imagination, partly based on his practical experience at Strasbourg.

It is too easy to blame the Foreign Office, but it is correct to blame the political parties, and especially the Labour Party. One can only hope that Roy Jenkins, Harold Lever, Shirley Williams and George Thomson will triumph over the Conservative elements in their party. It is a tragedy that men of the insight and knowledge of Dick Crossman and alas of Denis Healey, should follow in the wake of Attlee and Dalton and literally turn their backs on the future. I hesitate to draw a party line over European affairs, but, alas, there is a well-recognised minority within the Labour Party, who see in Mr. Spaak and those who have worked with him a pro-American and anti-Soviet conception of foreign affairs. This is partly true. But nobody who reads this book can take such a simple-minded point of view. In his time Spaak fought British isolationism, Soviet intransigence, de Gaulle and Foster Dulles in turn. It is high time that a spokesman of a small country contributed his memoirs, to be set aside those of the Big Powers. This, in my opinion, is the intrinsic value of this powerful book.

KENNETH LINDSAY

## A STIMULATING BIOGRAPHY OF MOZART

*The Life and Death of Mozart*. Michael Levey. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £3.00.

Michael Levey is well known as Keeper and Deputy Director of the National Gallery. He is married to Brigid Brophy, the distinguished novelist. Both husband and wife are devoted to Mozart's music, and a few years ago Miss Brophy published her stimulating book on his operas—*Mozart the Dramatist*. Now it is Mr. Levey's turn, and his work is in fact a full biography, as it were, through the music and with particular reference to the operas.

In an age when the market tends to be deluged with highly specialised, thoroughly documented books on music, it comes as a refreshing change to read a work which, despite a complete absence of musical examples and no pretensions to original research, can nevertheless so thoroughly hold the attention as this one. More than that, it reads as an original and scholarly biography which succeeds in bringing Mozart alive, and contains splendidly vivid vignettes of the period and places in which the composer lived and worked. Further, the reader is constantly stimulated by the ideas expressed as a particular work is examined and discussed.

There are also some of the faults of a non-specialist enthusiast's work. An undoubted imbalance towards the operas at the expense particularly of Mozart's chamber music, and within opera itself an over strenuous rescue operation upon the earliest works such as *Mitridate* which leads to a magnified impression of their significance. The author's general enthusiasm also produces the occasional sweeping, *ex cathedra* pronouncement unable to withstand detailed analysis. At the same time it is fascinating to be provoked by Mr. Levey's general artistic sensibility into considering Mozart in terms of Chardin and Jane Austen as well as the general environment of European music-making in the second half of the eighteenth century. Again, the author's admiration for his subject sometimes leads him into flights of ecstatic writing which risk being described as flowery.

Nevertheless it would be wrong to carp unduly at a book of such manifest sincerity and conviction. For the reader who knows and loves Mozart's music, and particularly his operas, this book is a constant source of stimulus. It brings to life that extraordinary genius who could produce *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*, as it were 'off the cuff', whilst beset by emotional and financial problems such as

would cause the average being to despair. It makes one aware of the significance of the later operas, and leads behind the veneer of frothy humour to the humanity which lies beneath. It shows how, for all his natural facility, Mozart took immense pains that a movement in a symphony or an aria in an opera should express precisely what was apposite to the surrounding situation. Above all it demonstrates that, despite ill health, poverty, and the constant battle for recognition with a salaried position, what governed Mozart to his dying day was love. Something he could so easily bestow, and yet from neither his father, Leopold, nor his wife, Constanze, ever received in anything like a commensurate quality.

Mozart suffers from no lack of appreciation today, but it remains a great service that the author has done, both to the composer ,and to all Mozartians, in writing a book at once so eloquent, so stimulating, and ultimately so satisfying.

DAVID FINGLETON

## 'LE DIEU DE LA DANSE' AND MR. BUCKLE

*Nijinsky*. Richard Buckle. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £5.

If Mr. Buckle has not produced a definitive life of Nijinsky he has nevertheless collated a great amount of valuable information here before unpublished. The author's interviews with those still alive who knew Nijinsky, especially with his wife, Romola Nijinsky, his sister, Bronislava Nijinska and his most famous partner, Tamara Karsavina, provide new insights and anecdotes which both enliven our knowledge of the Ballet Russe and deepen our understanding of Nijinsky the dancer.

But it is mainly with Nijinsky the dancer that Mr. Buckle seems concerned. A surprisingly small amount of the book is actually devoted to telling and explaining the life story of the most famous male dancer in the history of ballet. For most of the book, Diaghilev and his Ballet Russe occupy the central position. But perhaps this is not so much a fault of the author as a limitation of the subject. a limitation necessitated by two reasons. Nijinsky did not leave behind him the usual stuff from which biographies are written, i.e. diaries, letters or memoranda, except of course for his famous *Diary*. Secondly, it is difficult if not impossible to view Nijinsky other than as a part of the environment of the day which gave him his colouring, whether it was Diaghilev and his Ballet Russe, Romola Nijinsky or a mental hospital. This is not to suggest that Nijinsky was either a chameleon or a shallow individual; he was neither. But he was a dancer and dancers, at least the great ones, exist not because of who or what they are, but because of and through what they do.

But even so, any biographer ought to try, with whatever limitation is placed on his sources, to interpret his subject, and the non-written sources are not unplentiful. Mr. Buckle does this but hesitantly. He obviously has great sympathy with Nijinsky but the most he does is to paint a sympathetic picture when dealing with his subject. He leads us to the temple of the 'God of the Dance' but he falters at the entrance. Because so much of his information is in the nature of personal reminiscences, he often falls victim to the mistake of including material which ought either to have been footnoted or, better, omitted altogether. The most startling example of this and perhaps one of the most vulgar paragraphs ever included in any biography is found in Chapter I (p. 57). In discussing the first relationship Nijinsky had with an older man, Mr. Buckle comments:

> Was Pavel Dmitrievitch disappointed in Nijinsky off-stage? Did he find after the first weeks of their friendship that the dancer was not quite his type?

Nijinsky was small in a part where size is usually admired.

Such trivia has become the personal recollection of Nijinsky's sister, Bronislava, and has been translated into a 'fact' important enough to be included in the book. Apart from its excessive bad taste, one wonders as to its relevance. Human relationships, of whatever nature, are complex enough to ensure that any explanation of their failure must really have more depth than this. Such a statement, suitable to a King's Road discotheque, would make any reader who expected sympathy, understanding and insight tread the remaining pages with care.

When, however, Mr. Buckle talks about Nijinsky as a choreographer his prose becomes more polished and his analysis more substantial. As a ballet critic Mr. Buckle has shown great sympathy with approaches to ballet similar to Nijinsky's, and dislike of 'classical' ballets. Thus the author's description of what Nijinsky was aiming at in his ballets is detailed, illuminating and full of understanding.

Nevertheless, the central problem of the book remains. It is, after all, a biography of Nijinsky and what the reader is left with is not an explanation of Nijinsky the man but an understanding of Nijinsky the dancer-choreographer. Even if the two aspects are not distinguishable they must nevertheless be balanced: this is not done. Nijinsky stopped dancing in 1917 but did not die until 1953, some 36 years later. Apart from conversations and reminiscences, the main insight into this period, and a very valuable one, is Nijinsky's *Diary*. This work receives scant attention from Mr. Buckle and yet it is the one time when Nijinsky tried to set forth in some coherent fashion his ideas and beliefs. Nijinsky was not 'insane' when he wrote it but ill and his illness was due, perhaps, to a considerable extent, to the treatment given him. Thus what was produced in these days cannot be set aside as a lunatic's ravings; they must be held up to close attention if we are to understand Nijinsky. For Nijinsky after 1917 was not a different man than before 1917; he did not suddenly or even gradually become 'insane' where before he had been 'sane'. Schizophrenia was the means Nijinsky took, when necessary, to cope with his world. Thus what he did in this condition is as helpful in understanding him before 1917 as understanding what he did before 1917 is helpful in understanding him afterwards. Mr. Buckle seems to miss this point by his lack of attention to the famous *Diary*.

Mr. Buckle has done a valuable service to the history of ballet nevertheless. If his prose is sometimes gossipy, if various sections seem rushed in preparation and ill put together, if some comparisons are overdrawn and tending to 'pseudness' and if his understanding as a biographer is open to serious question, yet his comprehension of Nijinsky as a choreographer and his collection of so much valuable material entitle him to the thanks of everyone who is interested in the history of ballet if not of Nijinsky. J. E. B. MUNSON

## FORENSIC SCIENCE: AN ANTHOLOGY

*The Criminologist*. Edited by Nigel Morland. Wolfe, £3.50.

Founded in 1966, *The Criminologist* is a quarterly journal directed primarily to a specialist readership of lawyers, medical men, forensic scientists, sociologists and police officers. Its avowed purpose has been to present the views and experiences of leading authorities in the field of criminology and its ancillary disciplines. The journal's editor, Mr. Nigel Morland, has collected in this volume a selection of twenty-nine papers which, in his judgment, merit reprinting.

They represent, to quote Professor Keith Simpson's foreword, 'some of the cream of the last five years'.

The scope of the subject matter is wide, ranging from such essentially technical topics as 'Sudden Death in Infancy', 'Fatal Aircraft Accidents', 'Vital Reactions in Skin Burns', and 'Radiography as an Aid to Forensic Science', to '"Fingerprinting" Jewellery', 'Fakes and Forgeries of British Antique Silver Ware', 'Drugs and Driving', and 'The Bones of Edward the Martyr'.

Of decisively academic bias, the work nevertheless includes a fair leavening of articles which contrive to combine impeccable scientific integrity with irresistible readability. The lay reader will find Professor Keith Simpson's 'Percipience and the Police Surgeon,' Dr. T. W. S. Stevenson's 'The Bartlett Problem', Professor Francis E. Camps' 'The Quinlan Case', and Professor Cyril J. Polson's 'Murders That Never Were', fascinating and rewarding.

The overall effect of these revelations of the techniques evolved to safeguard the innocent and establish the fact of guilt where it exists, will surely counter the modish tendency always to disparage the lawful hunter and equivalently champion his legal prey. We have seen recently so many dubious glosses on such controversial causes as those of Hanratty, Stafford, Craig and Bentley, and even John Williams, the Ratcliffe Highway Murderer of 1811. A not inconsiderable part of the value of a book such as this, is the corrective which it supplies to so much visceral and slipshod thinking.

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

## THE MUSE IN SUNDRY MOODS

*Selected Poems by Gyula Illyés.* Edited by Thomas Kabdebo and Paul Tabori. Chatto & Windus, £1.50. *Selected Poems.* Anna Wickham. Introduction by David Garnett. Chatto & Windus, £1.25. *The Hunting Dark.* Robin Skelton. Andre Deutsch Paperback Poets, 80p. *The Irrelevant Song.* Brian Patten. Geo. Allen & Unwin, £1.75. *Old Movies and other poems.* John Cotton. Chatto & Windus, £1.05. *A Pint of Bitter.* Alan Bold. Chatto & Windus, £1.00. *Amana Grass.* Jon Silkin. Chatto & Windus, £1.05, paperback £0.50. *Love More or Less.* Sydney Carter. Galliard Ltd., Great Yarmouth, 40p.

Students of international poetry should be grateful to Thomas Kabdebo and Paul Tabori for introducing a translated selection of the poems of the distinguished Hungarian writer Gyula Illyés. The translators include the editors, Christine Brooke-Rose, Gavin Ewart, the late Vernon Watkins and Donald Davie, and Cecil Day-Lewis has vetted the translations to satisfy the sponsors that the English versions come up to the standard of the original poems. Our immediate impression is one of a vigorous wide-reaching imagination finding utterance in a variety of disciplined verse-forms. There is the delightful short-lyrical 'The Apricot-tree', tenderly rendered by Miss Brooke-Rose; Gavin Ewart's version of 'What you have almost forgotten', the moving evocation of pride of country and people; the cold protest of 'A sentence for tyranny', translated by Vernon Watkins, the longest poem in the selection; and the poignant Hungarian cry for 'at least one sea-coast' in 'Oceans', written after the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Tardy justice is done to the near-genius of the late Anna Wickham in *Selected Poems,* introduced by David Garnett. He tells how, when a science student, he first met the poet calling on his parents in Downshire Hill. She had been certified insane after a violent altercation with her husband and had escaped from the house. Garnett saw her to her home and a friendship developed before

the 1914-18 war. She took to writing poetry, and was drawn into the Poetry Bookshop circle, meeting Harold Monro, Pound and John. Eddie Marsh published some of her work in a Chapbook. She was a spontaneous poet, and in this discriminating selection her remarkable powers are clearly seen.

Robin Skelton is a poet completely sure in the expression of his brimming thoughts; his impressions of past and present scenes and experiences flow effortlessly. 'When you can say *long ago* of your own memories, you have arrived at the centre.' He is enormously interested in those memories, many of them physical, all of them compulsive—to himself and the reader.

With his third collection, *The Irrelevant Song*, Brian Patten is again seen as one of the most fluently romantic poets of the younger generation. As writer, reader and personality he has won more popular plaudits in the last five years than any other 'festival poet'. Sometimes, as in 'Angel Wings', he weaves a fantasy with sensual undertones about a pair of feathered wings, which is too mixed up with conjectures of glue and stitching to sustain interest. In this fantasy mood he is more successful with 'Tristan, walking in his wood, panics' and with 'Albatross Ramble'; but the most visually imaginatively effective piece is 'Unisong'—which is about a unicorn in a young woman's bedroom.

A well-equipped poet with a disposition to both present and past themes, John Cotton, in *Old Movies*, reveals a pleasant alertness to the visible world—as when in 'Pigs' he reminds himself and the reader that the delicate colouring and firm lines resemble a water colour by Durer. He remembers the Bijou cinemas of old days smelling of Jeyes and contemplates an old bookseller—'like some pale mollusc, shrunk in its shell, and stranded by the tide'.

As the blurb tells us, Alan Bold's *A Pint of Bitter*, is a collection of poems that 'cover love, society, football—subjects one might discuss in a bar over a pint of bitter'. In that respect he is frankly contemporary and trendy and makes easy attractive reading. In 'Graffiti' he demonstrates a shrewd wit; but the best things in the book are his translations of Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Rimbaud and Verhaeren.

Jon Silkin is one of the most urgently expressive of contemporary poets. Everything he sees and feels and smells excites him to utterance. In *Amana Grass* he uses his swift, flexible technique first in a group of 'Six Cemetery Poems' written in Iowa, then ranging back to Europe and the Middle East. His mind is adventurous and audacious, expressing itself in long lines of gathered intensity: a brilliant, uncomfortable poet.

The origin of the poems in *Love More or Less* lies for the most part in the author's acute responses to the Christian story, seen and felt with almost erotic intensity and against a mental background of confused preoccupation with current happenings in a world of violence and frustration. There is a Blakean quality here and there:

> 'There is no charity for those who cannot
> look at the burning bush, no love that will not
> live in the wilderness. I travel back to
> look at the burning bush.'

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

## VIEWS OF LIVERPOOL

*My Liverpool.* Frank Shaw. Wolfe, £3.
*Liverpolitana.* Peter Howell Williams. Merseyside Civic Society, £2.

Cities are made up of bricks and mortals. They are not only geographical locations, but also states of mind. The difficulty in writing significantly about any city is to strike an adequate balance between the objective—i.e. topographi-

cal, description of reality, and the subjective distillation of atmosphere. Liverpool, the subject of two new books, nicely illustrates the problem, and these two books are positive type specimens of the duality of approach. The late Frank Shaw's *My Liverpool* represents the subjective, atmospheric treatment. He is concerned with the mortals. Mr. Peter Howell Williams pays more attention to the bricks. People do figure in his *Liverpolitana,* but they play a minor role. They appear simply as the agents of events, the shapers of achievement. Expressed in terms of another discipline, the difference between Mr. Shaw's work and Mr. Williams' work is the difference between an Impressionist landscape and a Canaletto: which is to say no more than that the authors present two aspects of a protean city.

No small part of the fascination of Liverpool is its enormous variability. It is one of those cities which could support—and indeed has—scores of volumes, and yet still remain quintessentially elusive. Mr. Williams has obviously been at great pains to gather together a fine harvest of facts and figures. He begins at the beginning, in the year 1193, and works conscientiously through the centuries. His selective method is one which succeeds in wedding past and present most happily, and the text is visually enriched by a series of splendid line drawings of contemporary Liverpool by Ken Martin. The book, however, never develops beyond a kind of guide-book or gazetteer, designed, it seems, rather for reference than for reading. It is so dense, so packed with encapsulated information, that there is no space for the author to do more than assemble his carefully tabulated catalogue of data, and peripheral commentary is consequently of the briefest.

Mr. Shaw's book is quite the reverse: loquacious. A great sprawling, rich hotchpotch, with only the most perfunctory of nods in the direction of organisation, it is a sort of plum-pudding—a bowl of scouse, if you like—into which it is possible to dip in your thumb and pull out all manner of good things. And no one can say that the author has not spread himself liberally through the pages. It is, as its title denotes, the idiosyncratic record of a very personal vision. Mr. Shaw had, as I can testify from long friendship with him, a remarkable eye and ear for all sights and sounds Liverpudlian. He had, too, a superb memory, and a sense of humour matched only by his capacity for explosive polemic.

The Liverpool of which he writes is fast disappearing. It was a good place to live in, though undeniably harsh, and it may be that the crude humour which it spawned was in the nature of a self-preservative gesture. As Mr. Shaw expresses it: 'There is a living, lusting, shouting-with-laughter, society of real people living along the Mersey . . . Their lives, of course, are tragedies at bottom—aren't all lives?—but they live them in terms of comedy. They live."

In *My Liverpool* Mr. Shaw has preserved a fine selection of those important trivia which more pretentious social historians neglect, and in so doing has rendered a service for which future generations will have reason to be grateful to him. It is sad that his death, in August 1971, has made this lively testament his last.

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

# SHORTER REVIEWS

**The Embattled Mountain** (Oxford University Press, £3.75). The author, F. W. D. Deakin, was leader of the small first liaison mission to Marshal Tito. Then Captain Deakin, he was parachuted into the highlands of Montenegro on May 28, 1943, during the massive German manoeuvre to encircle and destroy the Partisans inside the fastness of the Durmitor

mountain range. After weeks of desperate fighting, incredible morale and superb leadership, under appalling conditions, the bulk of the Partisan forces broke out of the ring. It is a heroic story of valour and immense sacrifice vividly described in stark simple terms by the author who 'had taken on by stages a binding and absolute identity with those around me'. The author remained close to Tito and the Partisan leadership until the arrival of the more formal and senior mission under Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean, M.P., on September 17, 1943. Much of the book is taken up with the struggle between the Partisans and the Cetniks under Mihailovic, the growing power of the Partisans both politically and militarily against the Germans and Italians, the bitterness and frustration of the Partisans at Allied support of the Cetniks and Mihailovic even when the latter were collaborating with the enemy, and the long ineptitude of the British Government, mesmerised by the Royal Yugoslav Government in exile in London against the Partisans until the Maclean Mission. 'I have tried to throw new light on the frustrated vicissitudes of British policy through the history of earlier British missions, piecing together early notes and drafts, and engaging in long hours of disputations and discussion with their surviving commanders ... have sought a collective and provisional reconstruction of the historical record of these events'.

**Constitutional Relations between Britain and India. The Transfer of Power 1942-7.** Vol III (H.M. Stationery Office, £10). This third volume of official documents covers the period September 21, 1942-June 12, 1943; and, as before, it is edited by Dr. Nicholas Mansergh, Editor in Chief, assisted by E. W. R. Lumby. The bulk of documents are those passing between the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, and the Secretary of State, L. S. Amery, and also between the former and provincial governors, together with a few Cabinet papers. The volume opens 'in the aftermath of the earlier phases of the Quit India Movement', giving official reactions. Much attention is directed to the threat, actuality and consequences of Gandhi's fast from February 10 to March 3. Other documents cover a variety of subjects, including Winston Churchill's selection of Field-Marshal Wavell as Linlithgow's successor. There was also the difficulty of finding a top ranking lawyer from Britain to succeed Sir Maurice Gwyer as Chief Justice of India. It was a job which then seemed to provide few prospects. The reassertion and maintenance of the British Raj were the main objectives during these nine months. Independence in the immediate post-war years was not seriously envisaged, 'unless', in Lord Linlithgow's words in November, 1942, 'we are prepared indeed to turn our backs on this country'. This certainly had not been in Churchill's mind when he told the Commons in September, 1942, that there would be no quitting, no idea of weakening or scuttling. Indeed, he told a distinguished Indian in London at this time: 'If we ever have to quit India, we shall quit it in a blaze of glory ... however distant that may be.' It seemed impossible to visualise Indian independence by 1947.

**Shepherd's Glossary of Graphic Signs and Symbols** (Dent £6). It is fair to assume that the average worker understands the signs and symbols used in his own specialist field; but he probably knows little or nothing of those used beyond his own professional limits. To repair this ignorance by the provision of a suitable reference work is the justification for Mr. Walter Shepherd's comprehensive formal classification of signs and symbols relating to 110 subjects. The volume contains some 5,000 distinct forms with upwards of 7,000 meanings.

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## MALTA

### by General The Lord Bourne

WE cannot discuss Malta without the Mediterranean because it has been intimately bound up with the countries bordering on it for the past 2,000 years and is still inextricably concerned with its policies and fortunes. But its strategic and political position has changed.

Malta's history has especially been concerned with sea warfare because both sail and steam fleets needed not only a secure harbour in which they could refit but also a base from which they could exercise maritime control. Malta, although very small, was the key to control of the central Mediterranean and thus influenced affairs in both east and west Mediterranean. It was for this reason that in succession the Normans, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Napoleon (who required Malta to secure his expedition to Egypt) and finally the British occupied the island.

The British remained in Malta for 162 years (from 1802 to 1964) and based a large fleet in its marvellous harbour. 1928 was the peak for the Mediterranean Fleet of four battleships and a large number of cruiser and destroyer squadrons, not to mention a submarine flotilla. Control of the Mediterranean was considered sufficiently important for it to be bigger than the Home Fleet at the outbreak of war in 1939.

With Gibraltar under British command at its western entrance and a friendly Egypt providing a secure harbour at Alexandria, Britain controlled the Mediterranean from end to end including the entrance to it from the Suez Canal. The Russians, who were weak at sea, could not pass through the Bosphorus except with Turkish consent. Thus at the outset of World War II the balance of naval power was much in favour of the British and French.

They had only the Italian navy to defeat in order to make the Mediterranean into an Allied lake. Unfortunately, maritime strategy has fundamentally changed with the arrival of air power. Indeed an early indication of this truth was the siege of Malta and the great efforts both Maltese and British had to make to defeat the new attack by land-based air power.

Since World War II there have been two great changes in the Mediterranean scene which have affected Malta. The first is the modern method of maritime control. Aircraft have taken over from guns, and submarines have gained more speed and endurance than before. We saw the beginnings of this during World War II when the main Italian Fleet was destroyed by the daring British Swordfish attack on Taranto harbour in 1940, and when Malta itself became a beleaguered fortress (instead of a naval base) under constant air attack from German and Italian bombers only a short flight away. By the great courage of its people Malta fully earned the George Cross which King George VI gave to it, the first time it had been given to a geographical entity. The civilian population, under the leadership of Lord Gort, V.C., (described by General Patton as the bravest man in the British Army) suffered 1,400 deaths and 3,400 casualties but remained staunch for over three years of siege. The Royal Malta Artillery were extremely efficient and with their twin 6 pounders shot a determined Italian MTB attack on Valletta Harbour out of the water. It is sad that, like many British regiments, they have been disbanded.

The result of this development of air power in naval strategy was that not only did aircraft carriers supersede battleships but that land-based aircraft (which were better in performance because they did not have to land and take off from decks) began to dominate fleets within their range. Conversely fleets cannot operate offensively except with air cover, provided either from their own aircraft carriers or from air forces based on land within easy distance. A very important part of U.S. military support in Europe for the past 26 years has been the U.S. 6th Fleet. This powerful force has frequently influenced political affairs, especially in the eastern Mediterranean. It relies for its air cover on two big aircraft carriers and on U.S. land/air bases around the Mediterranean. It is by far the strongest fleet in the area.

The second change has been in the political leanings of the many Mediterranean littoral countries. After World War II, with the exception of tiny Albania, there was not one of these countries which was not either a NATO member (Britain, France, Italy, Greece and Turkey) or neutral. Furthermore, Britain and France controlled the foreign and defence policies of the whole of the Mediterranean southern shore. Then virtually complete political control was in the hands of the western Allies. In these circumstances it did not matter greatly that the Royal Navy first reduced its Mediterranean Fleet and then abolished the Malta naval dockyard.

Now, 25 years later, the situation in the eastern Mediterranean is very different. In this time the domination by the western powers of the Middle East in general and of the Suez Canal in particular is no more. Britain gave up military control of the Suez Canal in 1956. Two Arab-Israel wars have since taken place, each resulting in the quick defeat of the Arab powers namely Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq. But the long-term effect has been twofold—firstly the unification of all Arab states (not merely the four mentioned) in their determination to destroy Israel, and secondly their arming by the Soviet and Soviet satellites. Thus, although Turkey and

Greece remain as loyal NATO members, the Russians have friendly naval harbours in Letakia, Alexandria and Mersa Matruh. Admittedly they are not good naval bases but they give shelter and protection from attack by sea.

The Soviet now have a permanent naval force of up to 30 ships in the eastern Mediterranean, which normally includes a helicopter carrier but which lacks air defence. The Montreux Convention means that this force could be immediately cut off at the Bosphorus by a hostile Turkey. In short, Soviet naval power does not compare with the U.S. 6th Fleet, nor with the NATO fleets in the Mediterranean. Unfortunately this is not the end of the story.

The peace of the whole area and therefore the security of Malta depends more on the political stability of the countries around it than on the navies sailing on its surface. Revolutions and changes of government have frequently taken place in the last 25 years and these have affected the Mediterranean more than maritime control. Indeed, the steady withdrawal of western influence and the gradual substitution for it of Russian influence has taken place without any naval conflict. In fact the chief reason for Russian interest in a stable eastern Mediterranean would be to keep the Suez Canal open once it is reopened. The Soviet Baltic Navy would then be able to station ships in the Indian Ocean and would wish the Canal to remain open in order to have a short way to that sea.

Admittedly the Russians are finding themselves faced with the internal dissensions and quarrels of the Arab countries. Indeed, the only thing that unites Arabs is their long-term intention to drive the Jews into the sea. How to do it is another matter. Offers of military assistance by Arab states have a way of not turning up for the battles. There is a bonus for the Russians in the instability of Libya and Tunisia and Algeria along the southern shore of the Mediterranean. They have already been presented with a series of air bases from Damascus in the east through Cairo. El Adem and Whelus airfields have been evacuated by the British and Americans and although the French are doing their best to train Libyans to fly Mirages, their resistance would not be very effective in an emergency. Thus, with good prospects of airbases in Tunisia and Algeria, the Russians will in troubled times be in a position before long to mount an air offensive both against western fleets sailing on the Mediterranean and on Southern Europe.

Malta, as a naval base, is seriously affected by both these changes. Modern naval strategy does not require a sheltered harbour with full repair facilities unless it is defended by several airfields and a network of radar stations. Malta is tiny and cannot provide these. In the last decade the southern shores of the eastern and central Mediterranean have seen a complete political change from Western to Russian influence. Although the Arab scene is not a bed of roses for them nevertheless this gives the Russians the opportunity, if they operate the Libyan air bases and control airfields in Tunisia and Algeria, of being able to attack NATO Europe from the south as well as to challenge the present Allied sea and air domination of the Mediterranean. The U.S. 6th Fleet, though it might well

deal successfully with the first air attacks, could not in the end defeat a sustained offensive by hostile land-based aircraft. In short, Malta has become a very small pawn in the strategic sense and it has now become important not to use it as a Western base but to deny its use to unfriendly powers.

In 1964, after 17 years of self-government and a great deal of friendly constitutional discussion, Malta became independent under a Nationalist government with Borg Olivier as its leader. The island remained in the Commonwealth acknowledging the Queen as its titular head.

Since 1964, with its strategic importance diminishing to nearly zero, Malta's chief concern has rightly been how to become financially and economically viable. The people of Malta have extremely friendly feelings for Britain, due to more than a century and a half of British rule and to the frequent comings and goings of the Royal Navy. It is strange indeed for the Maltese no longer to have Valletta and Sliema full of British warships.

Unfortunately the consequent unemployment is an enervating disease which it is hard to cure as we know to our cost in Britain. It is difficult to get up-to-date figures but the trends are clear. In 1968 the population was about 320,000 in spite of the fact that some 70,000 Maltese had emigrated. In the late 1950s the number of gainfully employed was 90,000. Of these, 70,000 were employed by the Malta government or in support of the British defence forces. About ten per cent were employed for example by the dockyard.

During the past decade Malta's challenging aim has been to 'establish what is virtually a new economic way of life', and the plan has been to aid a build-up of manufacturing industry, agriculture and tourism in place of defence. Swan Hunter have turned the southern side of the Grand Harbour into a going concern as a civilian ship repair yard (mainly for super tankers which have not been much affected by the closure of the Suez Canal) but it is not the same as a naval dockyard for a large fleet. Nor has a flourishing tourism, or the good reaction to state aid for manufacturing industries, yet replaced the former direct employment by government and services. Thus Malta's economy has some way to go before it achieves the long-term aim of becoming self-supporting. Malta will inevitably have balance of payments difficulties for many years and hence the requests, or demands, of the new Labour Prime Minister, Dom Mintoff, for a higher 'rent' (or increased annual subsidy) for continued garrisoning of the island by British and NATO forces. I believe that the exact amount of money is relatively unimportant whereas the continued friendship of Malta is valuable.

We have seen how the two great changes have affected Malta, a tiny island and a tiny population in a world of increasingly powerful states yet faced with the task of having to earn her living by trade instead of by defence expertise and government employment. Firstly, the change in naval strategy which has resulted in Malta being no longer required as a military base. Secondly, the reversal of power in the politics of the countries bordering the southern shores of the Mediterranean, with the consequent

threat of Russian air power from land bases. These two changes have been relatively sudden and have come upon Malta at an awkward moment when she is both independent and defenceless and when she is having to adapt her economy to new methods, chiefly by new trade and by tourism.

The difficult problem of bridging the financial gap in the near future has hit the headlines and has obscured the wise long-term aim for Malta's economy as expressed in the three successive Development Plans. The fact that Malta has made trade agreements with various powers, including the latest with Russia, only illustrates the necessity for Malta, like Britain, to trade with the world. It does not, in my view, mean that an annual military subsidy (a 'rent' as Mintoff calls it) should be required to sustain the whole of Malta's economy. To accept a subsidy from Libya, for example, would be playing a dangerous game because Libya, although wealthy from oil, is extremely unstable. The danger would be even greater if subsidies were accepted from Communist Russia which gave that country the ability to occupy Malta as a peaceful way of influencing affairs in the central Mediterranean. In war the island and its airfield could be quickly neutralised as we British well know. Although Malta may understandably wish to be neutral the hard fact is that if she accepts military payment she is not. Malta has recently parted from NATO (in the termination of the NATO naval headquarters) but she has not finally parted from Britain and is indeed asking for defence payments to be continued. Bearing in mind the friendship of the British for the Maltese people, based on 170 years of association and on the island's gallant conduct in World War II, the choice is clear. If Malta stays with her old friends they will not only increase the influx of Western tourists assured of a friendly reception, but also steadily increase Western trade and if necessary see her through financially. As the Prime Minister of Malta said on 22nd September, 1971, 'any agreements affording military facilities in Malta to foreign powers must not put in jeopardy our policy of co-operation with our neighbours'. How could the case be put better? Malta's neighbours are old friends who are not merely powerful, they are members of NATO. They are not just neighbours, they also have the tourists and the financial power to help Malta to get over a difficult time. The fact that they no longer require Malta as a military base does not mean that they are uninterested in Malta as an independent and economically self-supporting island state, rightly proud of its long history.

To put the present difficulties in a nutshell NATO, which includes Britain and the U.S.A., does not need Malta as a military base. At the same time it does not want it to be used as a base for peaceful Communist penetration in an area which is well this side of the Iron Curtain and is part of the Western world. The long-term need of NATO is that Malta should become politically and economically able to stand on its own feet. Short-term aid, which means a suitable subsidy to enable the island to survive financially during the difficult interim, must therefore be paid by the West.

It will clearly be necessary to continue a military subsidy for a time, but a fair and not an unfair one. The important thing will be to retain the friendship of the Maltese people.

# TALKING OF LOVE—WITH VARIATIONS

## by James Morton

AN interesting opportunity has occurred recently to compare two attitudes to adolescence. It is surprising how on separate continents films on identical subjects are made contemporaneously and by quirks or intent of distribution they end up in London together. The films in question are Louis Malle's *Le Soufflé au Coeur* and Robert Mulligan's *Summer of '42.* Both take as their subject a boy in his mid-teens experiencing his first love against a set background. In the case of Laurent in *Le Soufflé au Coeur* (English title: *Dearest Love*) the background is of a bourgeois family in Dijon at the time of the French withdrawal from Indo-China and Dien-Bien-Phu. In the case of Hermie in *Summer of '42,* the background is the New England Coast at the time when America was seriously entering the Second World War. In neither case does the background provide more than a framework for some very acute observation of boys growing up.

Both boys have two companions. In Laurent's case the boys are his elder brothers. In Hermie's he is the middle of three boys who have teamed up to while away a summer spent at their parents summer houses on the coast. Both films have certain set sequences and the interest is, of course, how the directors handle them and the final conclusions.

Louis Malle first worked with the marineist Cousteau on *Le Monde du Silence.* His first feature film was the thriller *Ascenseur pour l'Echafaud* but he first came to the notice of the British public in his next film *Les Amants* made in 1958. Since then he has made a number of films including the popular *Zazie dans le Metro* and the Bardot-Moreau vehicle, *Viva Maria.* His most telling film, *Le Feu Follet,* received scant attention here, as did *Le Voleur,* his last feature film before *Le Soufflé au Coeur.* Since *Le Voleur* he has made a series of documentaries in India.

Robert Mulligan first worked in television and made his first feature film, *Fear Strikes Out,* in 1956, a year before *Ascenseur pour l'Echafaud.* Since then, he has been what might be described as a good commercial director with such films as *Love with the Proper Stranger, Inside Daisy Clover, The Stalking Moon* and, most importantly, *To Kill a Mockingbird.*

A comparison of the present films reveals the differing attitudes of the two schools of film-making. Assuming for the moment that all references to France were deleted from Malle's film and that it had been made in English, it would still have been a completely French film, whilst no-one could doubt but that Mulligan's film was anything but whole heartedly American. This is shown perhaps best of all in the comparison of two sequences where Laurent and Hermie have their first sexual experiences. Laurent is taken by his elder brothers to a brothel where they pay for him to go with a very attractive girl. In the middle they arrive and cruelly humiliate him. This sequence is both

funny and touching. The rage of Laurent, the concern of the girl who protests: 'But it's his first time' both generate an air of truth in a situation in which few, if any, of us can have found ourselves and which must therefore be completely foreign to us. Hermie, on the other hand, experiences sex first of all vicariously when his older friend Oscy has intercourse with a girl at a beach party. Oscy has gone into the sand dunes and returns at regular intervals, first to look at a list they have previously prepared together as to how to seduce a girl, and later to borrow contraceptives from Hermie. Each time he reappears he is more dishevelled and in apparently increasing stages of sexual exhaustion. The scene, as is Laurent's brothel sequence, is played for laughs, but this time it is so crude and ridiculous as completely to destroy what is a central part of the film.

Prior to that there has been another terribly drawn-out and overplayed sequence in which Hermie buys the contraceptives. Mulligan runs an age old joke for minute after minute but by the end it seems like hour after hour. The boy goes into a drug store and in a frenzy of embarrassment is unable to ask for the contraceptives he wants; instead, first leaving the shop then returning to ask for an ice cream. Clearly he wants something else and the owner asks him if there is anything more he requires. He hesitates and then says: 'There is something else.' 'Yes?' asks the druggist. Pregnant pause. 'I'd like some chocolate on top of the ice' says Hermie. Mulligan plays this joke several times with increasing lack of success, thereby proving that you can get laughs out of an old gag once but constant repetition destroys not only the joke but also what has gone before.

Both Mulligan and Malle are excellent in their handling of the scenes between the boys. Mulligan in particular creates the boredom of three relatively disparate boys who are thrown together with nothing but their youth in common. He handles extremely well their furtive looking at a sex manual and their picking up of girls in a cinema queue. Malle is equally sure in his handling of the school scenes and the escapades of the boys in Dijon. But, of course, each film stands or falls on its final encounter of the first sexual experience.

In this, Louis Malle triumphs not only in his choice of actress but in his handling of the scene. Laurent has had a heart murmur and is taken by his mother (played by the incredibly attractive Lea Massari) to a spa. The mother is Italian and is bored by her doctor husband. (How sad to see Daniel Gélin in middle age.) At the spa she leaves Laurent alone and goes off for a while with a lover, returning shortly before Bastille Day. Laurent has, in the meantime, idly taken up with two young French girls. Both the mother and Laurent are thoroughly bored at the Bastille Day junketing and she is somewhat drunk. It is only a step before they go to bed together in a form of consolation for each other. What could be an appalling scene is handled with incredible charm and tact. All is suggested, nothing is shown. Laurent wakes and whilst his mother still sleeps he goes in search of one of the young girls.

Rejected by the first, he has no compunction in seeking the second—this time successfully. He has already begun the treadmill which will lead him to suicide. Indeed, as it has been suggested that Cable Hogue was the later life of Deke Thornton from Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch*, so it can be said that Laurent is the young life of the drunkard, Alain, in *Le Feu Follet*. The film ends with Laurent's arrival back in his mother's sitting room to find his father and brothers have come to the hotel spa for the weekend. The mother and boy exchange looks. No-one will know of his night with his mother, but he has clearly been caught out with a girl. The family breaks into laughter at his discomfiture and he joins in, but nothing will ever be the same.

This is the message rather portentously spoken over the soundtrack at the beginning and end of *Summer of '42*. Unfortunately one can't really see why. The love affair in this film is that of Hermie and a young woman whose husband is seen going to the services. Hermie carries her parcels, stores some chests in her loft for her and arranges to go round for coffee one evening. When he gets there the place is in disarray. He sees a cablegram which says the husband has been killed. The woman, Dorothy, played rather badly by the rather pretty Jennifer O'Neill appears and almost silently seduces him to the thunder of the waves outside; pans of the camera around the room dissolve into the blue curtains. The whole thing is somewhat aseptic and uncomfortable *déjà vue*. It is as though Mulligan found himself with a compulsory shot or so of naked body and didn't quite know what to do with them. The slow panning of the camera in this scene has already been to a certain extent anticipated by the earlier slow motion shots of Jennifer with her husband. One knows with a sickening feeling that there is going to be some tricksy camera work at the seduction scene which is itself also clear from the beginning. It just doesn't come off, and because it doesn't the film, despite some good moments, fails with it.

Curiously enough *Klute* directed by Alan Pakula who produced many of Mulligan's films is also on show in London. This is Pakula's second film. Indeed, one of the first striking things about it is the physical resemblance in many shots of the heroine (Jane Fonda) to the eponymous heroine of his first, Liza Minnelli as 'Pookie'. The film is on the surface a simple story of detection. John Klute is hired by a business associate of a man missing for some six months to try to find him. The police have checked out the usual channels with no result. The only apparent clue is an obscene letter to a New York call girl. On a second level the film is the gradual and reluctant love affair between Jane Fonda as the call girl and Donald Sutherland as the detective. On yet another and wider level, it concerns the failure of people in relation to their adjustment to the world. Despite the ending, Fonda and Sutherland have not adjusted to each other and they almost certainly never will. Indeed, isn't it possible to see in Sutherland's pale fish eyes that the danger has been replaced by another? Despite its subject and violence, it is a film of deep compassion and as such bears contrast to John Schlesinger's *Sunday*

*Bloody Sunday* which, although apparently more concerned with relationships, does not in fact do more than observe them in a rather remote and disinterested way. *Sunday Bloody Sunday* is an eight day period in the life of Glenda Jackson as a divorced business consultant and Peter Finch as a suburban doctor both in love with, or at least very fond of, Murray Head, a young designer. Why they should be interested in this good looking but boring young man who deserts either of them for the other when the going gets either rough or boring for him, does not emerge very clearly.

This film has been almost universally praised. Schlesinger has had a number of near misses in his life. *Darling, Midnight Cowboy* are two and this, his latest, has been described as his finest film. For me, there is the continual overplaying of his hand. For example, Glenda Jackson and Murray Head encounter some really dreadful children on a weekend in Blackheath and the scenes with the children are so exaggerated in comparison with Mallees and Mulligans, that they lose their humour and credibility. True, he avoids caricature in the scenes at a barmitzvah party and this is one of the most attractively observed parts of the film. At the end Murray Head flies to New York, leaving Glenda Jackson with a macaw and Peter Finch with the opportunity to deliver a Dixon of Dock Green like homily to the watching camera. In between the opening of the film with an interesting montage of non-communication through a telephone answering service and Mr. Finch's homily, there are the usual and now obligatory shots of Miss Jackson naked.

Pakula, on the other hand, even in the vignettes does display more concern for the flotsam of New York life. In particular there is a scene where Jane Fonda, fleeing from the man who has been shadowing her, telephones an elderly client of hers. A man, in fact, to whom she merely tells rather elaborate and childish stories whilst she strips. She arranges to see him at his office and when she gets there she finds he has been taken ill and gone home. Nevertheless, thinking she is in need, he has left money for her. Concern and caring are perhaps keywords in this film. Donald Sutherland who plays Klute in the deadpan manner of Bogart of the 40's and later in the strict tradition of Paul Newman in *Harper* and George Peppard in *P.J.* (English titles: *The Moving Target* and *New Faces in Hell* respectively). Nevertheless, in a brilliant way and totally by understatement, displays his love and feeling, bordering on obsession, for Jane Fonda.

In a straight thriller Pakula has marshalled his material well. There are the genuine frissons; the watcher on the roof; doors bang; telephones ring and Jane Fonda walks frightened but unsuspectingly through a row of dresses in a garment factory. All have been done before, all will be done again but without doubt they are done well here. But above all the film is far more than merely another thriller.

# POVERTY: THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

## by Richard Wainwright

AS the nation sprawls in nightly fashion before that flickering army of televisions, turning slightly—oh, ever so slightly—obese, and watches the history and horror of the world being hurled into the corner of the living room, there is an implication of blissful absence of poverty in Britain. As vast parades of wide-eyed, pot-bellied babies expire in Bangla Desh—and thanks to the unblinking camera, in countless dimly-lit homes—there is the audible sigh of a contented land snuggling down with a comforting faith in British standards, and the conviction that no one need starve in Britain; as the unemployed of the thirties are dragged from cans in the Television Centre to march again across the screen from Jarrow, there is a national reassurance that 'the bad old days' have gone for good, and no child goes to school without shoes any more. And when an old woman dies of hypothermia, wasn't that just her fault for being too proud to apply for supplementary benefit? Or when a family can't pay the rent, isn't it certain that the money went on drink? The Nation makes the claim: there is no real poverty in Britain. And the Nation, at first glance, appears to be right.

Compared with India, or South America, or Biafra, there is no poverty here; compared with Northern England in the Industrial Revolution, there is no squalor, no disease, no insidious, smothering fear of the workhouse.

Perhaps no one *need* starve, no one *need* die of cold; but the important fact is that they do. Poverty is a relative thing; in relation to the past, or to countries still climbing from the past, Britain has no poverty; but in relation to what is desirable, and to what is possible, it has enough. The poverty is not obvious; it doesn't stand up and shout, but it is there, in hollows hidden by affluence. It is not manifested by wailing beggars clutching at your legs, or by children shrivelling with cholera in gutters, or by mass starvation, but it is there. Poverty in Britain is the poverty of dreariness, it is the poverty which permits existence, but not living.

Where, then, is this poverty? How does it escape the ever-multiplying means-tested arms of the Welfare State which seek to meet it? How can it be destroyed?

Perhaps the most obvious examples of poverty can be found amongst pensioners. The number of deaths from hypothermia is not known since doctors normally regard it as a 'contributory factor', and because of a desire to avoid controversy rarely denote it as the sole cause of death; but estimates put the figure at 60,000 per annum. When it is recalled that the basic retirement pension for a single person is £6.00 per week, and £9.70 for a married couple, it is hardly surprising to learn that 60,000 people could not budget adequately for fuel; and when it is further recalled that basic pensions fall below the minimum income necessary for survival as recognised by Parliament (when it annually approves supplementary benefit scale rates) the deaths become less surprising.

The official guaranteed levels are an admission that the State regards

the minimum necessary income as at least 25p more than the basic pension; hence any pensioner with either no other source of income, or a very strictly limited one, must apply for supplementary benefit in order to achieve the guaranteed level. That application is a means test, and that means test is the 'welcome mat' for hypothermia, for dreariness, for poverty.

The then Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance Report in June 1966 estimated that about 700,000 households (i.e. seventeen per cent of pensioners) were entitled to, but did not receive, supplementary benefit (then called National Assistance); over thirty per cent of the pensioners interviewed by the Ministry did not know of the help they could get; and twenty-five per cent said that pride would not let them apply, or that they disliked 'charity'. The Report revealed that among pensioner married couples just under half had incomes of less than £10 per week. More than half of the single men, and two-thirds of the single women had less than £6 per week. In 1965, when this survey was carried out, the average national wage was £20 per week.

Having acknowledged that not only are basic pensions too low, but that the stigma of applying for a means-tested benefit in order to survive is often too great for those most in need, the Liberal Party would propose to rectify the situation by immediately making the basic pension at least equal to supplementary benefit level; over a transitory period of, say, ten years, a pension equal to fifty per cent of the national average gross weekly earnings would be paid to a married couple. The Party also favours the lowering of the male retirement age to sixty, but with free choice in the actual age of terminating full-time work (and coupled with this would be the abolition of the Earnings Rule which severely limits the amount which can be earned by a pensioner).

Effectively protected from public scrutiny behind the verbiage of the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act, lies another pocket of poverty. Theoretically the Act provides well, since it requires Local Authorities to assist the disabled by making available practical assistance in the home, recreational facilities, meals and a telephone where necessary; it further requires Authorities to study the possibility of providing housing for the disabled, and to provide, or ensure provision of, sanitary arrangements in places frequented by the public so far as such arrangements are *practicable* and *reasonable*.

It is quite clear that many Authorities are choosing to ignore large sections of the Act, often maintaining as their reason a lack of funds. The wording of the Act condones this failure to comply, since presumably it would not be 'practicable and reasonable' for an Authority to provide facilities for which it had no means of paying.

The Government *must*, therefore, provide such impoverished Authorities with the necessary funds if the Act is not to become merely a source of false hope to many disabled people; and strict supervision should be kept on the implementation of subsequent sections of the Act.

The Liberal Party maintains, however, that even if the Act were fully

operational, it, together with the Invalidity Benefits Act of 1971, would not provide adequately for the chronically sick and disabled. We believe that a Commission for the Disabled should be set up, incorporating the functions of the Disablement Commission advocated by Sir Tufton Beamish in his Bill, but also with powers to co-ordinate all arrangements being made for the disabled by Government and voluntary agencies.

Also very important, special provision should be made in the form of a disability allowance for housewives, who at present receive no benefit but who, as a result of their disability, can suffer from severe financial hardship.

So far, only people who lack an earned income have been dealt with; these constitute the more obvious poor. However, amongst the nation's wage-earners there are the poor: consider that there are over 300,000 men earning less than £15 *gross* per week, and 320,000 women earning less than £10 *gross* per week. Stress must be laid on the fact that these are figures for *gross* earnings, for there are no equivalent figures available for net earnings—but it has been estimated that over one million men take home less than £16 per week, after statutory deductions.

The Liberal Party would attempt to deal with this appalling problem by introducing for all adult full-time workers a *National Minimum Earnings level,* which for adult males (at present) would need to be about £18.50. Together with this earnings level goes our policy for *negative income tax* to assist low income families, and at the same time dispense with many means-tested benefits. If income falls below the income-tax level (which at present is far too low) he obviously pays no tax; but under the Liberal system an additional measure would be for the Inland Revenue to credit such a person with a sum which would bring his earnings in line with the cost of living. Pay As You Earn would also operate as Receive When You Need: usually known as Reverse Income Tax.

At the same time, it is pointless simply to rely on Government action for the low-paid; steps must be taken to ensure that the conflict between the two sides of industry — the 'us and them syndrome' — is destroyed, and that a harmony of industrial partnership develop which will result in the peaceful and speedy evolving of realistic wages. Liberals believe that such developments rely on five major innovations—a comprehensive individual contract of employment to remove status distinction between differing workers and to guarantee basic rights; the establishment of elected Works Councils as a forum for consultation and negotiation; the use of plant bargaining as a replacement for national wage agreements; the introduction of industrial democracy in the form of co-partnership extending employee participation into the boardroom; and the development of profit-sharing as an added incentive to the achievement of genuine industrial co-partnership.

The position of women in the wages pattern requires special attention. The 8½ million women who work in 'women only' jobs are in a particularly vulnerable situation since a comparison with male pay is not possible, and so employers are not particularly concerned by the Equal Pay Act in its present feeble form. The elimination of separate wage rates between men

and women—which encourages what approximates to slave labour—is, in the opinion of the Liberal Party, immediately necessary.

Liberals believe that means tests are an evil. Sometimes necessary, but usually self-defeating. Obviously some tests are necessary where any degree of selectivity is used in the allocation of benefits; but to have forty-four tests of means—which is the number admitted by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on June 29 last year—is an absurdity. Forty-four means tests, forty-four forms to fill in, forty-four sources of anxiety for the scrupulous, forty-four temptations for the unscrupulous, forty-four times more confusion, forty-four times more work for Civil Servants. Means tests are a social evil, because those most in need are discouraged from applying by the thought of being second-class citizens, almost failures, if they fill in any of those forty-four forms and by the endless rigmarole of the official questions. The system shines a spotlight on a group of people who have to be 'helped' by the rest of society. The evidence for the social problems incurred by means-testing is overwhelming; while potential recipients fail to accept the 'charity' of a means-tested benefit, few pensioners would fail to draw a pension, because it is a 'right'. This can be seen by looking at the new 'over-80s' pension, the original estimated eligibility of which was 100,000, but present take-up rate of which is 140,000, and comparing it with Family Income Supplement which Sir Keith Joseph estimated to have a take-up eligibility of 190,000, but for which only 'about 100,000' have applied (Paul Dean, Under Secretary for Health and Social Security—House of Commons, January 26, 1972). This take-up rate of only fifty per cent is despite a massive Government publicity campaign costing £210,000. Witness, then, the deterrent effect of tests for those who are aged, sick, alone, or semi-literate.

Means-tested benefits are also costly to administer, both in time, and in the vast numbers of Civil Servants necessary to check individual claims. Between September 1968 and March 1969, for example, it is known that £1,900 was spent in wages for checking fraudulent claims for free prescriptions in the Manchester area alone! The Government estimates that it costs £1 to hand out each £10 of F.I.S., and that 200 more Civil Servants will be needed to administer the scheme. If all those eligible apply, it will cost £700,000 per annum to administer F.I.S. But very many will never apply.

A further problem of such benefits is the lack of incentive given to a recipient to increase his pay-packet. If we take as an example a man with two children who is earning £17 per week he will have no desire to increase his wage to £19 per week since because of the extra income tax, the loss of free school milk and increased contributions, he would gain only 40p. He may also have been receiving a school uniform grant and a rent and rate rebate which would now be lost; as a result the man would be *worse off* after his £2 rise. Consequently the means-test becomes a disincentive for a man to help himself out of poverty.

The Liberal answer to this welter of problems is, as previously outlined, negative income tax. Only one form is filled in, not forty-four; and this

acts both as the tax return and the means test. The advantages of this simple scene are numerous; firstly, benefits become a 'right' and are sent without the necessity of joining a humiliating queue at the Post Office. Secondly, people are brought in line with the cost of living, which is vital when it is realised that at present 100,000 families live below Supplementary Benefit level. Thirdly, at least part of the appalling mess of forty-four means tests would be swept away. Lastly, and of greatest importance, *all* those in need would receive benefits instead of just the few with the courage to apply. It would be common form to fill in the Income Tax form, for rich and poor alike.

Poverty exists in this country and Liberals acknowledge the fact. We have consistently campaigned for justice, we have unceasingly put forward our unique approach to social problems, and our present nation-wide campaign, 'Attack on Hardship', is but a part of our long fight for social reform. Eventually these Liberal ideas will be adopted by some Government and implemented; but how many people will suffer from neglect, or from Tory 'selectivity' before a human approach to social welfare prevails? The attack on hardship must start *now* and it must be largely political in approach.

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The April issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes *The Immigration Act, 1971* by D. N. Pritt, Q.C., *Employment Policies in the Union of South Africa* by Lady Seear, *The Orthodox and Unorthodox Approach to Healing*, by the Rev. Francis Angold, *Vasectomy* by Caroline Deys and *The Awakening*, a short story by Denys Val Baker.

# WHY TEACH AFRICAN LANGUAGES IN A BRITISH UNIVERSITY?

**by W. H. Whiteley**

THOSE of us who teach African languages at the university are often asked by students and parents what is the particular value in studying an African language and what kind of a job will it prepare one for. The questions are interesting for the light they throw on current views of the objects of a University education, but before attempting to answer them I must make a historical digression in order to provide a context within which such questions can be framed.

During the last sixty years the teaching of African languages in this country has largely been the responsibility and privilege of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London,[1] which did its best to provide those going out to the Mission field, Commerce or Government service in Africa with some linguistic initiation. For most of the period the S.O.A.S. enjoyed a monopoly of such teaching, yielding only to Oxford and Cambridge during the post-1945 expansion of the Colonial Service, and elsewhere only sporadically.[2] Under the terms of the Report of the Scarbrough Commission[3] this monopoly was assured, and the Department responsible for such teaching was enabled to expand very considerably. The Report stressed that '. . . the background of the problem is the vast range of British responsibilities in Africa . . .', underlined by the requirements of '. . . mass and higher education in Africa, by prospective demands for trained workers to carry out research under the provisions of the C.D. and W. Acts [Colonial Development and Welfare—W.H.W.], and by the proposals for the training of Colonial Service personnel, recently put forward by the Devonshire Committee'.

While the expansion in London enabled the School to meet the sudden increase in the demand for the practical teaching of African languages, the fact that no other centres of African language study appeared to be envisaged meant that there were few academic opportunities for young scholars who wished to specialise in African languages. As one observer noted, the field in England was like some trade union, difficult to get into, but almost impossible to leave, without changing one's field of study. One might have argued that London's monopoly was justified, since African languages were and were likely to remain an esoteric field, most suitably and economically studied from a single centre, but if such a centre were not to become isolated it was clearly important for its members to see themselves as belonging to some wider, more general branch of study.

If, for example, the languages were to be studied as particular applications of a general discipline—indeed, as a branch of general linguistics broadly defined—and if British universities generally had made provision for *this*, which they did not, one could have foreseen outlets for young scholars within a broader university framework, as well as in institutions like the Foreign Service and the British Council. The Hayter

Report[4] which looked forward to the sixties recognised the dangers, but not, so far as I can see, the causes of such isolation. There is, in the Report, a marked lack of enthusiasm for African linguists, i.e. those who could speak African languages, who are linguists and nothing else, and recognition that only where languages are large and important enough, e.g. Russian, is there likely to be any regular demand for linguists solely as operators of the language. On such terms the outlook for African languages seemed bleak indeed. Only in the case of Swahili, Hausa and a few others of the many hundreds spoken on the continent could such conditions have any likelihood of fulfilment. Yet part of the isolation noted by the Hayter sub-committee and felt by teachers of those languages lay in the absence of any similar institutions, of any ties of affiliation to a more general branch of study, and in the awareness that teaching say, Efik or Nyanja, in the sixties and seventies would not be the viable proposition that it had appeared to be in the late forties and early fifties, either in the level of teaching involved, or in the number or type of students available.

Yet already certain important changes were taking place. By the mid-fifties, certain African languages (Swahili, Zulu, Sotho, Hausa) had been selected for study at undergraduate level at the S.O.A.S., constituting one half of a Joint Honours Degree of which the other was Social Anthropology. Subsequently Amharic was added to the languages; Linguistics and History to the choice of subject; and the course lengthened to its present duration of four years. Secondly, during the sixties, Departments of African Languages and/or Linguistics were set up or developed in many African countries to meet local demands that a specifically African quality be a feature of their degrees. This provided, in the short run, a valuable opportunity for establishing academic links, and an incentive for the preparation of teaching materials at university level. Whether it will be possible to sustain these links in the long run is not yet clear. Thirdly, both in response to the situation created by independent Africa, and as an adjunct to its massive aid programme, the United States greatly expanded its interest in African Studies, which similarly increased academic—as opposed to practical—interest in African languages, and indirectly, temporarily enhanced the market value of British scholars in this field. Fourthly, as the sixties succeeded one another, it became increasingly clear that African interest in recruiting European men and women with a qualification in African languages was diminishing rapidly, and might soon be extinguished altogether. Thus, at the outset of the seventies, those who taught African languages at the university,[5] and who, by and large, had been recruited in response to the needs of a Colonial situation, now started to ask themselves, and to be asked by students, parents and other academics, how they justified the choice of an African language as a degree subject for students who might very well not set foot in Africa except as tourists.

As taught in undergraduate courses the study of African languages, like that of other modern languages, commits the students to a dual concern with language and literature, which, in general, follows the patterns developed by other schools of modern languages. What, one might ask,

are the special characteristics of African languages which would account for the scepticism concerning their suitability at this level, while there is no shortage of advocates for the teaching of German, Russian, Arabic, Chinese, Spanish or even Hindi? A number of reasons are commonly adduced for reading modern languages at the university. Firstly, there is a cultural argument. Each of these languages, it is maintained, support in some sense or other a 'great' literature and culture to which it is proper to expose some British students. Further, students ought to know something of other cultures within the same cultural milieu as their own so that they may then better learn to evaluate their own.

In passing, one might remark that the language component is much less vulnerable to criticism, languages as such being less prone to value judgements than literatures, so that one can command a fair measure of agreement in arguing that any language, even one totally unrelated to one's own, is equally valuable as a component in a degree course, provided that it is imaginatively and rigorously taught. Secondly, there is a political argument. The Soviet Union, the Arabic speaking world and China play, so it is maintained, important world-roles politically, so that it is right that some British students should acquire competence both in the languages and cultures of these areas. Further, as far as Western Europe is concerned, that is the area within which our political, economic and social relationships are likely to be most active. Closely linked to the political argument is a strategic one: it is clearly of some importance that one's citizens should know something about those countries with whom one's relationships may be hostile. Whether a university is the appropriate institution for such studies is more questionable. Finally, there is a vocational argument. If a language is accepted as appropriate for study at school level teachers will be required to teach it: trade must be carried on in contexts where an international language such as English is not always the most effective means of carrying on business: the Foreign Service must be staffed—at least to some extent—with persons familiar with the languages and cultures of the countries to which they are liable to be sent. In short, one might say that career opportunities are good. As far as the traditional language schools, i.e. those in Germanic or Romance studies, are concerned they can invoke all three of the above arguments, and this is probably true also for such exotic fields as Arabic, Chinese or Hindi. It is much less self-evidently true for African languages, which are still associated to a surprising extent with 'backwardness' or with the tribal context.

Of those which can be studied in London, Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia[6], is spoken as a first language by around 6-7 million people, and is thus the second largest spoken Semitic language. There is a Department of Ethiopic Studies at the Haile Selassie University in Addis Ababa. A substantial body of religious literature exists in the classical form of the language, Ge'ez, and an increasing amount of modern written material is being produced. As a Semitic language the linguistic links of Amharic are with the Middle East, but economically and politically Ethiopia has strong ties with independent Africa through such bodies as the

Organisation for African Unity. Hausa is the national language of northern Nigeria but it is also spoken elsewhere in Nigeria and beyond. As a first language it is spoken by perhaps 15-20 million people and is being taught at degree level in Nigeria as well as in the United States. There is a substantial body of traditional Islamic literature, a rich oral literature and a small but increasing body of modern written material. Swahili is the national language of the United Republic of Tanzania, but, as in the case of Hausa it is also spoken widely elsewhere; in Kenya, Uganda and, to some extent, in the Congo (Kinshasa). While perhaps no more than one million people speak it as a first language it is certainly spoken by upwards of ten million people as a second language. It is taught at degree level at the University of Dar es Salaam Nairobi and Kampala, as well as in Ghana, and widely taught in Europe and the United States.[7] There is a substantial body of traditional Islamic verse dating back at least to the eighteenth century and a considerable amount of modern verse and prose, including novels, essays, biographies, translations and political writings.

Can one claim for any of these languages that it has produced or is producing any 'great' literature? It must first be pointed out that the number of works of literature for which one can claim anything approaching a universal recognition of greatness is rather small, not least because the criteria for ascribing greatness are less than universally shared. Even where they are, Shakespeares may still have their Tolstoys! Most literature to which that overworked epithet is applied is recognised as 'great' only within the cultural milieu from which it springs, so that the absence of universally recognised great literature in a language should not be regarded as grounds for obloquy. Of the modern literature, whether written in English or not, and based on European models it is easy to be critical, since for African writers this is a period of trial and error, of adaptation and rejection: when it comes to traditional oral literatures, popular verse and song, folk-drama, our critical tools are of less value.

The extent to which these forms of literature are valued by society and the criteria by which they are adjudged to be 'good' or 'not good'—the label of greatness in our own culture is often a form of presumption by one generation towards the tastes of the next—are likely to be different from our own to an extent that can only be gauged by detailed study. Such study constitutes an important corrective to the essentially ethnocentric character of our present educational system at primary and secondary levels. It has been remarked that ' "a frantic concern to understand Russia or the Orient will lead us nowhere, unless the student brings to these problems skill in analysis, order in valuing . . ." unless, in other words, the student understands his own tradition'. Agreed, yet I believe that it is precisely by studying an alien culture that students may bring their own cultural values and traditions into better perspective. I do not wish to quarrel here with ethnocentrism in the schools, but at the university it seems to me essential that some students should continue their education against a non-Western background, to develop a sensitivity to other standards of

value, and to recognise that in some respects the industrialised nations of Europe and America have something to learn from Africa. One recalls Cesaire's bitter reaction against technology:

> Heia for those who never invented anything
> those who never explored anything
> those who never tamed anything
> those who give themselves up to the essence of all things
> ignorant of surfaces but struck by the movement of all things....

Turning to the political argument: while it may seem unlikely that any of the countries concerned will, in world terms, play a major political role during the next decade or so, it would be a bold man who could foresee no situation in which this might occur. Yet this seems to me of minor consequence compared with their other characteristics. Each of these countries is poor, with a per capita income per annum of £40 or less: each is concerned with processes of development and modernisation, with how to utilise scarce resources in the most effective way possible. Nigeria and Tanzania are grappling with problems of nation-building consequent upon the breakdown of models inherited from Westminster, and Tanzania's experiment in socialism is as exciting as any going on elsewhere. From our own position of affluence these problems may seem remote, yet it is doubtful whether any affluent nation can afford to dismiss 'Third World' problems as irrelevant, and highly desirable that some British students should, while at the university, suspend their preoccupation with the industrial West and see how we look from the less comfortable viewpoint of those whose main preoccupation is still with poverty, ignorance and disease.

Finally, there is the vocational argument. No one could claim that the opportunities for using an African language in England are other than extremely limited, and Europeans with such qualifications are decreasingly welcome in Africa. Career opportunities, therefore, are certainly not greater, but rather fewer than for other Arts graduates, at least in teaching; though employers in general are coming to recognise that the value of a degree lies less in its content than in its quality, and to acknowledge that a joint Honours degree in Hausa and Linguistics is comparable to one in, say, Sociology and Philosophy. Student interest in the degree, on the other hand, is largely stimulated and sustained by its African content, and by the possibility of using their specialised skills in an environment which recognises their value. If it were possble, as we hope it may be, to combine an African language with the study of English or French, and thus provide students with one teaching subject, then the position so far as teaching in Africa is concerned would certainly be quite different. Qualification in an African language would then be a bonus, and graduates could hope to go to Africa—at least for some years—confident that they possessed skills that are needed and that could not be equally well produced locally.

To sum up, I have suggested that the study of an African language at university level serves as an important corrective to the ethnocentrism of our educational system, not only in socio-literary, but also in political terms. While vocationally such study may have some disadvantages in the

present climate of opinion, these too, I believe, could be largely eliminated.

There may well be those who concede that African languages, like other modern languages are perfectly acceptable as subjects for degree courses, but who still feel that they work out rather expensive in terms of staff-student ratios since the annual intake is at present no more than a handful. This is true, though one might protest that in absolute terms, at any rate, the expense is trivial. Numbers of students are likely to remain low for a number of widely differing reasons: the preference for Single Honours Courses, among many gifted students; residual conservatism among careers masters and mistresses; attitudes to London both as location for a university and as a university that is less prestigious than the older or newer universities; regard for the Degree Course as a major means of raising one's value on the labour market, and the persistence of preference for university courses which build on skills developed at school.

The role of the university is currently in dispute: is it to be critic or servant of the state; is it to be an inward-looking institution, serving immediate and practical needs, or can some part of it remain outward-looking and dedicated to long-term intellectual studies; must it, like the nationalised industries pay its way, or will it be recognised that economic profitability is too narrow a yardstick by which to measure the value of a university? Such questions are for the state to decide, but it would be tragically short-sighted, if logical, for the state to argue that since there are no longer any Colonial responsibilities to discharge, then *ipso facto* African languages need no longer be taught or studied at the University. Our relationships with Africa have changed, but in the process they have not become less meaningful, only less profitable.

**NOTES**

*I am grateful to my colleagues—both students and staff—at the S.O.A.S. for their comments and criticism of an earlier draft of this article.—W.H.W.*

[1] Teaching at the School (known then as the School of Oriental Studies) began in 1917 with Swahili and Hausa. At the present time sessional courses in seventeen African languages can be provided and shorter courses and guidance in fourteen others. In addition to the B.A.(Hons.) courses, an M.A. course in Swahili is available, and supervision for a Ph.D. in the field of African languages.

[2] At present the University of York is the only other British university at which an African language (Swahili) forms part of the first-degree structure.

[3] Report of the Interdepartmental Commission of Enquiry on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies, H.M.S.O., 1947.

[4] Report of the Sub-committee on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies, H.M.S.O., 1961.

[5] In this I am restricting myself to London.

[6] For a detailed background description see *The Ethiopians*, E. Ullendorff, O.U.P., 1960.

[7] For further details see my *Swahili: the rise of a national language*, Methuen, 1969.

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# SMOLLETT AND THE SORDID KNAVES

**by Donald Bruce**

SMOLLETT'S most measured political statements were made during the ten years preceding his death in 1771: years of interfluence between Whig corruption and Tory militancy, when both parties stood in disarray. The king was periodically mad, Chatham was periodically mad, Wilkes was making what trouble he could, Burke was drawing striking comparisons, and Lord Bute had to go about St. James's with a body-guard of prize-fighters; although championed also by Smollett.

Smollett professed to be content with the state of England in May, 1762, when he wrote in the first number of *The Briton*—a periodical he founded in support of Bute's ministry—that 'a set of noblemen whose abilities are unquestionable, whose probity is unimpeached' had been acknowledged as 'the natural counsellors of the Crown'. Smollett admired Bute for having disentangled England from the Prussian alliance and the war-mongering of Frederick the Great. Chatham's persistence in the Seven Years' War had been, in Smollett's view, the single but unforgivable fault of his former hero. Shocked by his experiences as a surgeon's mate on the expedition to Carthagena, Smollett could condone war only if it was an unavoidable defensive war. He wrote of Chatham in a letter of 1759: 'If he had broke the spell by which we are bewitched to the continent, I would have pronounced him the greatest man that ever lived'. Three years later Smollett had changed his mind. Although Chatham had ended the 'system of corruption' which had prevailed under the first two Georges, he had 'lived long enough to survive that character which first made him considerable, and to break the engagements he was unable to fulfil'.[1]

Smollett's support for both the Whig ministry of Chatham and the Tory ministry of Bute shows that he was no partisan. Like his own Matthew Bramble, in *Humphry Clinker*, Smollett could say, 'I never voted for the ministry but three times, when my conscience told me they were in the right'. In a letter of 1758 he claimed that in writing his *History of England* he had 'as far as in me lay, adhered to Truth without espousing either faction'. He owned that he had sat down to write it with a feeling of cordiality towards the Whig principles in which he had been educated:

> But in the Course of my Inquiries, the whig ministers and their abettors turned out such a Set of sordid knaves that I could not help stigmatising some of them for their want of Integrity and Sentiment.

The truth is that Smollett disliked both parties, although he disliked the Whigs slightly more than the Tories. During the course of the parliamentary election in *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, the hero describes the Tory candidate as an illiterate savage who has scarcely ever travelled beyond the excursion of a fox-chase; but the Whig candidate is still worse. He is 'a sordid knave, without honour or principle', who practises 'national usury, receiving by wholesale the rewards of venality, and distributing the wages of corruption by retail'.

The meaning of the word *Radical* has been so coarsened and blurred over in recent years that the word is often used of popularists who, discontent with the processes of representational government, resist them by such unconstitutional methods as industrial disturbance, obstruction and riot. In the slovenly and shambling ranks of these Radicals of 1972—among the Colchester Hegelians and the Liverpool Zen Buddhists—Smollett would by no means have enlisted. He deplored the 'dangerous tumults' of the Lancashire weavers who 'left off working, and entered into a combination to raise, by force, the price of their labour' in 1758:

> They insulted and abused all those who would not join in this defection; dispersed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats against all such as should presume to oppose their proceedings. But these menaces had no effect upon the magistrates and justices, who did their duty with such discretion and courage, that the ringleaders being singled out, and punished by law, the rest were soon reduced to order.[2]

Smollett was a Radical in the original sense of the word, as it was later applied to themselves by the followers of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill: in that he desired social reform rather than social reconstruction. He would have liked to trim or re-align the roots of society without, however, pulling them up.

He neither deplores a system of social subordination in itself, nor invests it with any special authority. Between a ruler and his subject, Smollett thinks, there is a reciprocal obligation. If either breaks it, it becomes void. As the hero says in the French episode of *Roderick Random:* 'when the mutual tie is broken by the tyranny of the king, he is accountable to his people for his breach of contract, and subject to the penalty of the law'. The true right of a king, in Smollett's view, stands in the sufferance of his people. Theodore of Corsica, whom the hero of *Ferdinand, Count Fathom* meets in a debtors' prison, is introduced with the comment that he 'possessed the throne of sovereignty by the best of all titles, namely, the unanimous election of the people over whom he reigned'. A ruler is thus a steward for his people. Although he may emerge by descent, or some other fortuitous means, his tenure lasts only as long as his people agree to it. Louis XV, by overlooking the extortions of his officers-of-state, has promoted 'a violent fermentation' among the people of France, which 'may produce a great change in their constitution'.[3] Smollett's conjecture, made in 1765, proved an accurate one. As an even worse steward of his people Smollett cites the former French king, Louis XIV, who 'had the patriotism to impoverish and depopulate his own kingdom, in order to prosecute schemes of the most lawless ambition'.[4]

In reply to an Italian he met on his travels, who boasted of the wealth and political subtlety of the princes of Rome, Smollett asked him why these princes did not employ their wealth and their talents for the advantage of their country:

> I demanded of him, why they did not contribute their wealth, and exert their political refinements, in augmenting their forces by sea and land, for the defence of their country, introducing commerce and manufactures, and in giving some consequence to their state.[5]

The language and the sentiment are more temperate than in Smollett's

first publication, the verse-satire called *Advice*, in which he arraigns the corrupt Whig government as 'Ye varnished ruffians of the state'; yet the charge is the same one of bad stewardship, directed against:

> These sons of sloth, who by profusion strive,
> Their pride enveigled from the public hive.[6]

By indulging in showy waste at the expense of the public, the Whig lords have made light of their responsibilities in the same way as the chaplain in *Roderick Random*, who neglects the seamen dying of fever, in order to drink spirits with the officers of the ship. They have been magistrates in the style of Justice Gobble in *Sir Launcelot Greaves*. Instead of 'protecting the helpless, restraining the hand of violence, preserving the public tranquillity, and acting as a father to the poor, according to the intent and meaning' of his commission, Justice Gobble has 'tyrannised over the poor and connived at the vices of the rich'[7]

Smollett does not decry the system, but only those who abuse it. If Justice Gobble shall prevail, exclaims Sir Launcelot Greaves, 'where is our admired constitution, the freedom, the security of the subject, the boasted humanity of the British nation?'. But Justice Gobble does not prevail, and Sir Launcelot Greaves easily overthrows him by sponsoring 'divers prosecutions for corrupt practices, which had lain dormant until some person of courage and influence should take the lead'. Smollett, in fact, regrets not that Gobble conforms to the traditions of the magistracy but that he deviates from them. Haughtily Sir Launcelot Greaves complains of 'low fellows, who are thrust into the magistracy without sentiment, education or capacity'. Smollett considers that the rightful steward is the man of knowledge. 'What right has such a fellow as you to set up for a reformer?' Matthew Bramble asks his footman, Humphry Clinker; and Humphry Clinker concedes:

> It becometh not such a poor ignorant fellow as me to hold dispute with gentlemen of rank and learning. As for the matter of knowledge, I am no more than a beast in comparison of your honour; therefore I submit.

Most of all Matthew Bramble's claim to Humphry Clinker's submission consists in the benevolence he has shown him: he has saved him from sickness, hunger and want.

Rulers are ordained by, and subject to, constitutional law, which is the collective wisdom of all generations of a people, and variable at the people's will as expressed in their Parliament. In spite of Justice Gobble, British law remained; and Smollett, like Sir Launcelot Greaves, admired British law as far as it went. To that extent Smollett was a constitutionist. But before the law could be applied 'some person of courage and influence' had, by good luck, to appear; and at this point, in his impatience that no regular and constant provision had been made for the remedying of social ills, began Smollett's radicalism. Sir Launcelot Greaves takes up knight-errantry, and the righting of abuses, only for want of something else to do whilst he is separated from Aurelia Darnel. Once Sir Launcelot Greaves has married her, and given up social reform, such rascals as Justice Gobble may again do as they please. Private goodwill, private charity, does not prove systematic enough as a means of preventing cruelty and relieving

distress—especially the distress of what Smollett calls 'modest want, that pines in silence'.[9] Merely by accident Sir Launcelot Greaves meets the two hungry children picking berries for food, who tell him that his father's bailiff has distrained the cows belonging to their widowed mother, and the only sustenance of the family. Merely by accident the starving postilion, Humphry Clinker, is brought to the notice of his benefactor, Matthew Bramble. 'I am old enough', Smollett wrote in a letter to David Garrick in 1761, 'to have seen and observed that we are all playthings of fortune'. Too often the rulers of Hanoverian England, neglecting their duties as the stewards of the people, left suffering and want to be relieved by fortuitous kindness; they themselves wasting the people's substance, entrusted to them, in corrupt practices and personal extravagance.

The reason why Smollett disliked the Whigs more than the Tories was the 'system of corruption' they had practised under Walpole and Newcastle. In *Humphry Clinker* Smollett describes Walpole as the father of corruption and Newcastle as his ridiculous ape and venal drudge.[10] 'The public treasure', says Smollett in his *History of England,* 'was at their devotion: they multiplied places and pensions to increase the number of their followers'. Walpole perceived 'that the bulk of mankind were actuated by a sordid thirst of lucre; he had sagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole superstructure of his subsequent administration'. Of Newcastle's ministry, before Chatham started to sway it, Smollett wrote:

> The management of a mighty kingdom was consigned into the hands of a motley administration, ministers without knowledge, and men without integrity, whose councils were timid, weak and wavering; whose folly and extravagance exposed the nation to ridicule and contempt; by whose ignorance and presumption it was reduced to the verge of ruin.[11]

When the government, or source of public order, is grossly in the wrong and inaccessible to calls for reform, the whole country is demoralised, so that the antisocial forces of vice, intemperance and indecency emerge unchecked in open day. Many people believe that the Vietnamese war has had this effect on American society, and by contagion on our own. As Smollett says in his *Continuation of the History of England:* 'There must be some fundamental flaw in that constitution, which the power of civil magistracy cannot preserve from anarchy and internal dissolution'. The consequence of Whig corruption was 'an irresistible tide of luxury and excess, which flowed through all degrees of the people, breaking down all the mounds of civil polity, and opening a way for licence and immorality'.[12]

Here we have the old Roman outcry against the love of luxury. Smollett was neither Whig nor Tory, but well versed in the classics and to some extent a Stoic. The Stoics held that mankind degenerates, through successive ages of debasement, from the rural to the metropolitan: from the pastoral simplicities of Juvenal's Golden Age and Tacitus's Germania to the hideous streets of their imperial Rome; from the woods where Seneca's Hippolytus knew no guilt to the boudoir in which Phaedra played him false. Smollett, no less than the Silver Latin writers, revered the stern and frugal times of the early Roman Republic, when the statue of Jupiter

in the Capitoline Temple was of mere earthenware, the senators tended their own sheep, and a Consul was expelled for owning more than five pounds of silver. That Smollett mistrusted affluence itself is evident in Matthew Bramble's diatribe against the society of Bath, and in Smollett's account of the excesses which followed the British conquest of India and Canada:

> In the metropolis the snares of luxury were extended to the refuse of the people. The lowest traders were hurried into the vortex of dissipation; they grew enamoured of diversion, and vied with their superiors in finery and expense.[13]

On the vices of prosperity Lieutenant Lismahago, in *Humphry Clinker*, may speak for Smollett:

> The most respectable heroes of ancient Rome, such as Fabricius, Cincinnatus, and Regulus, were poorer than the poorest freeholder in Scotland . . . and poverty was so far from being a reproach, that it added fresh laurels . . . because it indicated a noble contempt of wealth, which was proof against the arts of corruption . . . . Riches are certainly no proof of merit; nay, they are often (if not most commonly) acquired by persons of sordid minds and mean talents: nor do they give any intrinsic worth to the possessor; but on the contrary, tend to pervert his understanding and render his morals more depraved.

The eighteenth-century equivalents of Fabricius and Cincinnatus are Smollett's Highlanders, 'incredibly abstemious, and patient of hunger and fatigue', who observe a patriarchal system of clanship 'founded on hereditary regard and affection, cherished through a long succession of ages'.[14] These Highlanders, the opponents of the Whigs at Culloden, observed the traditional pieties most dear to Smollett:

> And ancient faith that knows no guile,
> And industry embrowned by toil;
> And hearts resolved, and hands prepared,
> The blessings they enjoy to guard.[15]

The Whigs, in their meretricious heartlessness, violated these pieties:

> Corruption, rolled in a triumphant car,
> Displays his burnished front and glittering star;
> Nor heeds the public scorn, or transient curse,
> Unknown alike to honour and remorse.

The party in *Humphry Clinker* travel through the ignobilities of Bath and London from Wales, with its 'pure, elastic, animating air' and its 'cordial effusions of unreserved friendship', to Scotland, which they find to be another Wales. Their progress is from a Golden Age to a Golden Age.

The story of Baynard, towards the end of *Humphry Clinker*, is a fable of modern waste and ancient thrift. Intent on making a little Versailles of her husband's estate, Mrs. Baynard lays out two hundred acres of farmland as a pleasure-garden, with walks, shrubberies and water-works 'into which she poured a whole stream that turned two mills and afforded the best trout in the country'. From the effects of these and other extravagances on her part Baynard, who has become as 'meagre, yellow and dejected' as his own land, is saved only by her death. Matthew Bramble comes at once to his aid, and together they restore the wise economy of Baynard's ancestors:

> I ordered the gardener to turn the rivulet into its old channel, to refresh the fainting naiads, who had so long languished among the mouldering roots, withered leaves and dry pebbles. The shrubbery is condemned to extirpation; and

the pleasure-ground will be restored to its original use of corn-field and pasture. As such an estate, in need of such a steward, Smollett saw England.

Yet from what is known of Smollett's own lifelong extravagance and lack of financial scruples, it must be concluded that he lashed in others the faults he detested in himself. It is all the more evident from the collection of his letters published in 1970 that Smollett spent his wife's inheritance, leaving her destitute at his death. No doubt he hoped to recoup: so does every gambler. No doubt he thought he was in the right, all things considered: he was very self-righteous. He begged loans and did not repay them, he shuffled promissory notes, he defrauded his mother-in-law. 'I have always piqued myself upon my Independency, and I trust in God I shall preserve it to my dying day', he wrote in a letter of 1763, but it was an empty brag. Smollett's dignity is reduced by the letters, but his pathos is increased. It is distressing to see that great heart, that powerful intellect, reduced to such shifts by illness, debt and a fatal love of display. Every Sunday at Chelsea he regaled his literary minions at his wife's expense. He commissioned one portrait of himself from Willem Verelst in 1756, when he was being threatened with writs of arrest for debt; another from Nathaniel Dance in 1764, when he had started selling off parcels of his wife's estate in Jamaica. Smollett's few letters of disinterested friendship have a distracted air, as if he longed to be back at his desk writing words he could sell: the piles of pennies mounting, although with a cruel tardiness, at every sheet; and more tardily still turning to silver and gold and portraits by Verelst and Dance. He was too like the guest at Trimalchio's feast, in *The Satyricon*, who complains of modern luxury and greed whilst enjoying the wild boar stuffed with song-birds; too much one of the counterfeit Stoics who, complains Juvenal, join in the revels, although with an air of frugal rectitude.

[1] *The Briton*, 1762-3, No. 35.
[2] *Continuation of the Complete History of England*, London, 1760-1, vol. II, p. 406.
[3] *Travels through France and Italy*, 1766, Letter XXXVI.
[4] *Ibid.* XII.
[5] *Ibid.* XXX.
[6] *Advice*, 1746, 11.41-2.
[7] *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, 1762, cap. XII.
[8] *Humphry Clinker*, 1771, J. Melford's letter of June 10.
[9] *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, cap. XXI.
[10] *Humphry Clinker*, J. Melford's letter of June 2. Horace Walpole calls *Humphry Clinker* 'a party novel written by that profligate hireling Smollett to vindicate the Scots' in his memoirs of Geo. III.
[11] *Continuation*, IV, 114.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, 56.
[13] *Ibid.*, IV, 225.
[14] *Humphry Clinker*, M. Bramble's letter of September 6.
[15] *Ode to Leven Water*, 1771, 11.25-8.

# PLANNING PROSPERITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

## by James Avery Joyce

THE classic aphorism that 'amidst the clash of arms, the laws are silent' would hardly apply to the Arab States I visited last summer, who are seeking to combine their development programmes through a somewhat strangely-named institution 'UNESOB', which began seven years ago as the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut. UNESOB is becoming rapidly known in the Middle East for its capacity to bring together in specific operations the economic and social aspirations of the co-operating governments.

Symbolically, the new and impressive building, surmounted by the blue U.N. flag, which houses UNESOB in one of Beirut's fast expanding suburbs, can best be indicated to one's taxi driver by telling him that it is next door to the Ministry of Planning. Each Arab country now has its Planning Ministry. Peaceful and urbane Beirut is the natural centre where national planners prefer to meet.

For example, in June, Dr. Hasan Musharrafieh, the Lebanese Minister of Planning, opened a five-day Expert Group on the Foreign Trade of the Middle East countries in relation to their overall planning programmes. Participants in the meeting were senior officials of Ministries of Planning and Commerce, and of the Central Banks directly involved in the preparation of national plans for foreign trade from each of the following countries: Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic. The League of Arab States and the Arab Economic Unity Council also participated.

The scope of the recommendations that the experts made to their respective governments analysed the role of the foreign trade sector in national development efforts, proposed new management techniques in the foreign trade sector, and worked out a joint strategy of foreign trade planning.

Far from being an *ad hoc* event, this current example of UNESOB co-operation across the whole Arab world, can best be understood within the framework of the Second Development Decade which the U.N. General Assembly launched last December in New York.

Development problems have taken on an increasing tempo in U.N. affairs in narrowing the 'gap' between the rich and the poor countries. In addition to the specialised areas of work in which operate the older U.N. agencies, such as FAO for agriculture, ILO for labour, UNESCO for education, science and culture, and WHO for health, the General Assembly recently created two more 'development' bodies: the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO).

All these world agencies and bodies have grown far beyond the original concepts of the U.N. Charter and now spend more than $200 million a

year of voluntary Government contributions in cash and in kind on the carrying out of technical co-operation in the developing countries. But these global activities are becoming decentralised at the regional level to a significant degree. Hence, the secretaries of the four main Regional Economic Commissions for Africa, Asia and the Far East, Europe, and Latin America were strengthened in 1963 by the addition of the United National Economic and Social Office in Beirut, for the Middle East belongs both to Asia and Africa. One of these days UNESOB may well become a fully-fledged regional economic commission.

UNESOB's responsibilities cover two functions: (a) it helps in the search for solutions at the governmental and intergovernmental levels, collecting data and conducting research for the benefit of Governments and all those concerned with development problems in the region; and (b) it facilitates specific technical co-operation and pre-investment projects for which the Middle East governments have requested U.N. assistance. In this respect, UNESOB supplements the activities conducted at the country level under the direction of the U.N. Development Programme's Resident Representative.

UNESOB is organised into an Economic Section and a Social Section and has a group of regional advisers attached to it. United Nations proposals for work programmes are prepared in the light of Government requests by the UNDP Resident Representatives, with a view to making as effective as possible the Member States' own efforts to tackle development problems. At this early stage of co-operation the work programmes have been built along three main line: development planning, trade development, and industrial organisation, which correspond broadly to the three major areas of ECOSOC, UNCTAD and UNIDO respectively.

Typical of this valuable new network of U.N. organisations now emerging in the Middle East, UNESOB maintains close working relations with the offices in Beirut of the International Labour Organisations (ILO) and UNICEF, and with the offices of FAO in Cairo and WHO in Alexandria. UNESOB also keeps in touch with the Department for Economic and Social Affairs of the League of Arab States and with the Secretariat of the Arab Council for Economic Unity, both located in Cairo.

During several discussions with the local directors of this constructive U.N. 'presence' in Beirut, I was most impressed by the enthusiasm of Mr. Jean-Claude Chasteland of the Population Unit, which has just produced its own journal featuring many projects on population control and family planning now emerging throughout the Middle East countries. Similarly, when in Cairo, Dr. Bindari, a product of Guy's Hospital and now Deputy Chairman of the Family Planning Council of the U.A.R., briefed me on the considerable progress that Egypt has put on record in this important area during the late-1960s.

In its recent resolution on the close link between population growth and economic development, the General Assembly called upon the Economic and Social Office in Beirut to assist the Middle East Governments in furthering national and regional facilities for training, research, informa-

tion and advisory services in the field of population 'bearing in mind the different character of population problems in each country and the needs arising therefrom.'

Not all of UNESOB's activities are confined to Beirut, however. Last spring, a four-day Workshop on Regional Planning in Iraq was held in Baghdad, with the joint sponsorship of UNESOB and the Ministry of Planning of Iraq, under the directorship of Dr. V. R. Ram, Chief of the Social Affairs Section. These meetings led to a clarification of Iraqui regional planning policies and will undoubtedly help the Government in its current efforts to prepare sub-regional plans within the context of national development.

Since planning is a relative newcomer to most Middle East countries, this sort of frank dialogue between the different ministries concerned is expected to enable the Government to define more clearly the future programmes of the different departments of Iraq's Ministry of Planning and Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs. As national planning is an intersectoral subject, participants from the Ministries of Industry, Agriculture, and the ministries dealing with social affairs, health, education, and housing are also necessarily involved.

Clearly, the rapidly evolving and conscious industrial revolution that is taking place in the Eastern world today presents some remarkable contrasts with the sporadic and unplanned transformation of the Western world two centuries ago!

Nor should it be overlooked that this vital territorial link between East and West also lies along the Soviet border. Consequently, in June a Seminar on Urban and Regional Planning was attended by ten policy-making delegations from five Arab States: Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, the Democratic Republic of Yemen and Syria, and took place in Kiev, under the joint auspices of UNESOB and the Government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Mr. M. Burka, Chairman of Gosstroi, the State Committee for Construction of the Ukrainian S.S.R., opened the Seminar, while Dr. V. J. Ram conveyed the thanks of the United Nations to the Ukrainian S.S.R. authorities for their excellent co-operation. The Seminar adopted recommendations calling for the training of regional planners, long-term perspectives in urban and regional planning, protection of the environment in urban planning, and inter-country co-operation in river valley planning, and called for more cultural centres and social services, especially for youth in rural areas as a means of stemming the sporadic rural-to-urban migration, from which all developing countries are suffering today. The event took place in the 'October' Palace of Culture in Kiev and included study visits in Kiev itself and in cities in the Crimean region.

Perhaps the most forward-looking event promoted by UNESOB last summer was a seminar on national youth policies, pointing boldly to a new era in Middle East trends and attitudes. Seventy participants from seven Arab States (Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Democratic Republic of Yemen, Syria and Yemen) met in Beirut, along with one inter-governmental organisation (the League of Arab States) and several

universities and foundations. International agencies present included the ILO, UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNRWA; but, more important, a number of youth representatives participated on an equal basis with the official representatives.

Dr. V. J. Ram again served as chairman, and the following main conclusions emerged from the very lively discussions. Integrated policies favouring youth should be adopted within the context of the governmental development plans; appropriate agencies for planning for youth should be established within the governmental structure; formal education systems of the past should be made more responsive to the needs of the younger generation; action for the solution of the problems of youth should be taken at the level of the family, school and the community as a whole; privileged-educated youth should work for the betterment of the less-privileged youth and the rest of society; mass communication media should be utilised more in dealing with the needs of youth; drug addiction among youth should be resolutely dealt with; and work camps for the younger generation should be encouraged for training and channelling the energies of modern young people.

Mr. Said El-Naggar, the Director of UNESOB, underlined the role of the human element, which marked all the discussions. In the total development process, he stated, 'youth can play the fundamental role in bringing about social change', since youth was 'the carrier of change'. It remains to be seen, of course, how far this so recent promise of economic, social and technological co-operation in the ancient lands of the 'fertile crescent' will, under U.N. leadership and the initiative of UNESOB, respond to the needs of youth today not only as carriers but as catalysts of social change.

*The Power of Parliament* by the Rt. Hon. Michael Stewart, C.H., M.P. has been unavoidably held over and will be published in the April issue.

# LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM—'GREEN FOR GO'

**by F. D. Littlewood, O.B.E.**

RATHER more than a year ago, anticipating a green paper on local government finance, an article of mine in the *Contemporary Review* was sub-titled 'Waiting for the Green'. We now seem to have got it, but it is not the same kind of green.

Like a creaking train long overdue for re-conditioning that awaits the signal to enter a depot and suddenly after several false alarms gets the all clear, local government now has to juggle over a different set of points than was expected by those in the driver's cab, by the passengers in their variously classed compartments who have been craning out their impatient necks from time to time, and indeed by those compelled to stand in the luggage van itself.

Anyhow, the out-of-date affair is not being shunted right off to some regional breakers' yard, but it is not just in for a re-paint either. The siding to which it is being led might with some justification bear the sign 'Repair and Re-fitting'—though of course the train with the crew and passengers will have to keep working as best it may during the process.

The Reform of Local Government prescribed for England by the Labour administration's White Paper of February 1970[1] (with a promise of a Green Paper on finance in the following July) was superseded in February 1971 by the Conservative Government's White Paper, 'Local Government in England. Government Proposals for Reorganisation'[2] a subtle change in title; a greater change in attitude, but with a promise too of a later financial green paper.

Wales was also having attention but in a slightly varying fashion; whilst the consultative paper for the Principality resembled that for England, it was more elastic in a way many would have liked to have seen arranged for England.

Whilst the Labour Government in a broad way accepted the recommendations contained in the report of the Royal Commission[3] and proposed to base local administration in the country on a fundamentally changed system—a single tier of 'unitary authorities'—the Conservative Government in pursuance of an election pledge proposed to set up everywhere two levels of operational authorities. A common feature of principle of both Governments' proposals however was that some areas of England—although not exactly the same ones—should have a metropolitan system. In brief, the Conservative Government proposed, subject to consultation, to create 44 County Councils outside London. 6 of these counties were to be of a metropolitan type structure, where the allocation of functions would be somewhat different from the remainder of the country necessitated by their predominantly urban character. Within the new counties, the Government suggested a uniform type of district council in far fewer numbers might well replace the existing mixed assortment of over 1,000 authorities.

To compare for a moment the proposed re-fit with the present working arrangements in England: outside Greater London, both the 45 administrative counties and 79 county boroughs (which vary in area, character and importance from Birmingham with a population of well over one million to the City of Canterbury with a mere 33,000) would be swept away in favour of a new form of county council; the 227 non-county boroughs (which vary from Cambridge with over 100,000 to Eye with about 1,600) with the 449 urban district councils and the 410 rural districts to be replaced by about 300 new district councils with no formal distinction as to an urban or rural character.

Rather like the Beeching plan for railways, in modernising the system many methods that were good enough for Victorian town halls and some indeed that stemmed from mediaeval days and made to work (more or less) in our remarkable British way, were to be declared obsolete. Many will regret their passing, some of the colour will go out of local government, but it is generally accepted the time is long overdue for their replacement by management machinery more in keeping with electronic devices, computer equipped offices, trains and jumbo jets.

Whatever one's views there is no doubt about the skill—and political judgment—with which the controversial aspects of the reform have been presented by the Government team led by Mr. Peter Walker, Secretary of State for the Environment, a new Department bringing together three formerly independent Ministries. The Government's White Paper itself was in some ways quite vague, and Mr. Graham Page, as Minister for Local Government and Development and the Secretary of State's right hand man in this regard, made it clear not so long after its issue that the vagueness of the terms used was deliberate in order to allow for changes. The first Parliamentary debate took place, to the surprise of many, in the House of Lords, and the Government's scheme in this way got off to a good natured and gentlemanly start. On this note it is fair to say—as was indeed said at the time in relation to the distribution of power and functions—that the Tory reform greatly favoured the county councils. However, a comment attributed to Lord Redcliffe-Maud, Chairman of the Royal Commission (See note 3) that it was a mistake to try and thwart the good merely because one couldn't have the best, describes well enough the attitude of those genuinely concerned with the future of local government but who would have preferred the Labour Government's unitary authority proposals. The Opposition did not indicate at this time a line of all-out hostility, but based itself on the intention to sustain the view as far as it could that local government should be strong enough to stand up to Whitehall.

The debate in the House of Commons, when it came in the latter end of May 1971, was something of an anti-climax, as the Secretary of State had left himself little new to say at this stage, except to make it clear that the new district councils were to be the rating authorities, and to emphasise that the principles upon which the reform was based were to lessen the Whitehall interference with local authorities, and that much

central government work and attendant bureaucracy would be curtailed. There had been a notable swing to the left in the May 1971 local government election, and Mr. Walker, whilst taking note of this and making due allowance for it in any representations by councils whose control was now changed, still adhered completely to a fast moving timetable.

In a climate of opinion that was steadily accepting the principle of a reform based on evolution rather than revolution, controversy settled around the all important question of 'Who does what?' Polite but not really convincing words had, of course, been uttered that it would be quite wrong to use the terms 'upper' and 'lower' tier authorities, and that no type of authority should be answerable to another. An appendix to the White Paper outlined the proposed allocation of functions in England, and it came in for much criticism from all quarters save perhaps the county councils. It was proposed that education, personal social services and libraries were to go to the county councils and to the district councils in the metropolitan counties; that apart from day to day development control, planning and what went with it was going to be the responsibility of the county councils; and that building regulations, weights and measures, food and drugs, clean air, would likewise be county duties. Refuse disposal was to lie with the county council, but refuse collection with the district. The White Paper proposed that museums, art galleries, parks, playing fields, swimming baths and coast protection were to be the subject of concurrent jurisdiction. Water supply, sewerage and sewage disposal were to await the recommendations of the Central Advisory Water Committee. Police and fire were fairly obviously left with the counties, and even there further amalgamations were hinted at. A whole host of environmental and minor services were left for further consideration.

Now began a period of anxious watching and waiting occupied by much consultation with endeavours to influence ministerial and departmental opinion, for whilst the county councils seemed reasonably happy with their position, the county borough, borough, urban and rural districts were profoundly disappointed. It was suggested that the proposed district councils had been left with far too few functions and their lack of worthwhile power would detract from either public representatives or officers of the right calibre ever wishing to serve them. The prospective districts felt in particular that the division of the planning and highway powers were impractical. Indeed the Association of Municipal Corporations was able to make common cause with the urban district and the rural district Associations on this issue. A strong joint statement was published making clear the minimum powers the future districts should have if they were to be any success at all. The significance of this move was that on the whole the urban and rural districts had been up till then more or less in agreement with county council views, and this new re-alignment appeared to be capable of considerable influence.

Besides the accustomed request for representations on the Government's proposals, Ministers on various occasions made speeches whose

wording did not always match up precisely. The exact words were of course snapped up for analysis and critical study for the slightest change of attitude. One of the notable occasions was at Scarborough in early June when Mr. Graham Page at the Society of Town Clerks' Conference indicated pretty clearly that the White Paper should be viewed as 'green' —at any rate so far as the allocation of functions was concerned. In fact he seemed to say that it was the Government's 'first' shot at this, but the Bill nevertheless was going to be proceeded with in the autumn. However the eleventh hour is not midnight, and a train does not go—in spite of signals and whistles—till it leaves the platform. Many a passenger has got in or out late in spite of warnings from those comfortably seated inside and from the station staff, as well.

It was in this atmosphere that the Secretary of State spoke to the A.M.C. Conference at Southport in late September, 1971. In the event the occasion was robbed of much dramatic effect by the Northern Ireland situation and the recall of Parliament for a two-day debate. The conference programme had to be altered for Mr. Walker to return to London. In any case, he had not really a great deal to say—he could not at that time anticipate the Bill. He affirmed with emphasis that when the assembled corporations came to look at the Bill they would see there were to be real changes from the White Paper and, hinting at concessions, gave the assurance that the future district councils would, in the result, have plenty to do.

The Bill was in fact introduced into Parliament on November 4, and found at once to be comfortably based on the White Paper for England and the Welsh consultative document. So though much of the Bill applies to both England and Wales, certain details related to Wales only and of course the reorganisation provisions did not apply to Greater London.

In the meantime a Financial Green Paper had been issued in July, 1971. It disappointed everybody, but on reflection there was little reason for this except its negative character—but not much was expected. The Paper was loyally defended by Ministers though there was a distinct divergence of opinion as to whether the Paper really argued for bigger Government grants (posing questions of larger control) to local authorities or indeed otherwise. There was, however, to be no rating of agriculture.

As expected the Bill proposed 44 new counties including six 'metropolitan counties' in predominantly urban areas. These metropolitan counties were very much more tightly drawn than in the White Paper and were to be named Greater Manchester, Merseyside, Tyneside, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, West Midlands. The rest of England was to be divided into 38 non-metropolitan counties. The most sweeping changes from the existing counties as we know them were the creation of a new county for north Somerset incorporating the cities of Bath and Bristol and the areas round them and to be called Avon, the creation of new counties of Cumbria and Malvernshire by mainly combining the old counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, and Herefordshire and Worcestershire respectively. A surprise was the creation of a Humberside that

included a good deal of north Lincolnshire, a relatively extensive area in north Essex was included in a new Suffolk, and Teeside gave its name to another new county. The Bill confirmed that there would be a Boundary Commission for England to advise on the boundaries of the district councils expected to approximate to the White Paper figure of 300.

The Bill, besides bringing local government up to date, proved also to be a complete re-statement of the law, and proposed a number of wholesale changes affecting the internal management and working of local authorities. An important departure however was that all the members of the new county councils and district councils would be directly elected, and that meant that outside London the office of alderman would cease. All councillors would in future sit for four years instead of three and all county councillors would be elected on the basis of a single member for an electoral division and would retire together every fourth year. The Bill made provision for petitions to be presented for the retention of borough status and mayoralty and certain dignities, but made it plain that these would be strictly of a courtesy nature and would not carry any effective power or function. An entirely new code was introduced in the Bill enabling members of local authorities (this time including London) to claim a flat rate attendance allowance as of right (without proof of loss of earnings) on the performance of council business. This allowance would be taxable. In addition travelling and subsistence allowance on a reimbursement non-taxable basis would still be provided for. The two major omissions from the intended legislation were finance and health service reorganisation; a little disappointing perhaps. Still when one looks at the provisions of the Bill with 251 clauses and 30 schedules, the whole affair weighing nearly 1 lb., it is quite breath-taking in its complexity and the timetable which the Secretary of State confirmed on the introduction of the Bill is to those acquainted with the actual working of local government, quite startling, namely the Bill to have Royal Assent by the summer of 1972; elections to the new authorities in 1973; and the new councils to be running on their new system by April 1, 1974.

At the same time as Mr. Peter Walker was making his statement in relation to England, Mr. Peter Thomas, the Secretary of State for Wales, dealt with the Welsh situation which it is not proposed to expand on here beyond to say there was criticism from the Principality that there was to be no separate Bill for Wales. The new proposals provide for three Glamorgans; with a South Glamorgan to include Cardiff, and mid-Glamorgan Merthyr Tydfil, the remaining counties from north to south being Clwyd, Gwynedd, Powys, Dyfed, Gwent which is to embrace Monmouth.

In England those concerned with the future district councils warmly welcomed the concessions that had been made to them and the further powers which they were to have. The additional functions are broadly public transport undertakings, the maintenance of unclassified roads in urban areas, building regulations and matters of environmental health such as clean air, food safety and hygiene, nuisances and the enforcement

of much health legislation, and above all a more responsible part in planning. So much in contemporary life now depends on planning that the overall situation should be described. Whilst responsibility for broad planning policies and for the preparation of 'structure' plans will rest with the county councils the Bill now proposes that district authorities shall in addition to development control, have in general the opportunity to frame their own local plans. All planning applications will be made to district councils and most of these will be decided by the districts. But to enable the county planning authorities to discharge their responsibility for broad planning policies, certain matters of strategic significance will be reserved to them. General provisions will enable (but not more than this) local authorities to make joint arrangements for the employment of planning staff. The previous idea of a 'unified planning staff' had been much frowned upon by the local authorities—other than the county councils.

The Bill did not change the situation outlined in the White Paper as to housing, nor however did it concede anything by way of educational functions to the district councils. This was not really expected, nor perhaps was that of libraries, though there are so many borough councils operating excellent library services that there is every justification for the provisions of the Bill to be made the same as in Wales where in certain instances library powers can be operated by the district council.

The second reading debate on November 16 and 17 was on the whole not exciting. For a large part of the time the attendance in the House of Commons was sparse, and the situation was not made any better on the second day by the Speaker understandably conceding an emergency debate on Northern Ireland. Enough was heard however from the Opposition benches that 'this great sponge of a Bill' as it was termed from that side, was going to have a far from easy passage in Parliament. In the absence of much re-action at present from the public (though this will surely come later but more explosively when alterations to local boundaries come into view), the local government associations and the authorities themselves are in general, apart from local differences and particular functions, philosophically accepting the situation. The long delayed improvements the Bill contains are welcomed, and for the most part everybody is now anxious to get on with the job of making the new legislation work.

The Secretary of State himself certainly lost no time in putting into effect his side of the timetable. Upon a move to have the Bill debated on the floor of the House failing, it was referred to a Standing Committee which commenced its work on November 25. In the same week the Government acted on the intention expressed in their White Paper by appointing, ahead of the legislation, a Boundary Commission-designate to advise on the boundaries of the new district councils in England, and announced that the Chairman would be Sir Edmund Compton, fresh from leading the inquiry into the treatment of the Northern Ireland detainees, and whose former title of Omsbudsman now seems to have

crept into the English language.

So the great re-fit starts. The picturesque and often trivial past must not obscure the realities of the future, or the necessity for providing as well as possible for the young people who will have to live, whether in the Common Market or outside it, under and with the reorganised system. But whatever gauge is used, local government, if it is to remain British, must be local—and democratic—otherwise it will not stay on the rails.

*Postscript*

When Committee D halted for the Parliamentary Christmas recess they had steamed through Clause 1 of the Bill and were negotiating the first of the Schedules. No amendment of substance had been made during the first 11 sittings—unless the removal of the New Town of Skelmersdale from Merseyside to Lancashire can be counted such. The Secretary of State made it clear however that the Government was prepared to think again about the idea of parish councils for small free-standing towns. This would help many to continue a history and tradition, but there seemed little hope of them continuing to have Mayors.

The Planning functions are providing a difficult set of points with the local government associations signalling strongly divergent views on their practicability and man-power requirements.

There are plenty of steep gradients ahead, more will be heard of some amendments at the Report stage; not the least one by the Opposition's leader (Mr. John Silkin) to make Hampshire into a metropolitan county with four districts based on the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Southampton and Aldershot/Basingstoke/Winchester. The Government's business management, still determined, are nevertheless worried; the Common Market express is due to start rolling in February, and if the Local Government train has to be diverted to a slow line, it may not get to its destination in time, and both the passengers and crew will have to put up with some inconvenient wayside station.

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1 Cmd. 4276 H.M.S.O. 1970
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3 Royal Commission on Local Government in England 1966-1969 — Cmd. 4040. H.M.S.O. 1969.

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[Frank Littlewood, O.B.E., author and journalist, former Town Clerk of Cheltenham, recently attended the parliamentary debate at the House of Commons on Local Government Reform.]

# DENMARK: A LAND OF PARADOXES

## by Alan Bird

THE Scandinavian countries — Norway, Sweden and Denmark — enjoy an international reputation for the good sense, decency and rationality they show in their outlook on the world around them; and among them it is, perhaps, Denmark which we respect the most. Norway, currently enjoying astonishing financial prosperity, is content to play a minor part in the European area and is happily and uncritically allied to American policy; Sweden during the last war maintained a position which if not exactly pro-German was somewhat equivocal especially towards her neighbour Norway; a biased and profitable neutrality which continues to lay her moral judgements in world affairs open to scepticism; but Denmark, which resolutely and morally opposed her German invaders and saved the greater number of her Jewish citizens (no excuses here as in Poland, Italy and elsewhere), continues to declare her resistance to any form of tyranny in the world and more particularly in southern Europe. The Resistance museum in Copenhagen demonstrates as much as anything Denmark's gratitude to Britain for help during the war years; and in turn we have always had an admiration for the Danish way of life to which we are linked by history as well as a common taste for best butter, bacon and eggs.

These delectable foods are, unfortunately, among the villains of the Danish economy which shares in the malaise affecting most European countries: continued inflation and chronic deficits in the balance of payments for which there seems to be no easy remedy and with which we have become sadly familiar in the last two decades. In the early sixties Denmark's reliance on agriculture was diagnosed as her fundamental weakness but an internal policy which has reduced its place in the economy from 40 to 20 per cent has not brought any enduring benefits; and if the British government is serious in its intention to place import duties on foodstuffs even this reduced figure may prove to be excessive. Although there has been a marked growth and diversity in Danish industry and despite the fact that exports have risen favourably by 12-14 per cent each year the economy remains dangerously unbalanced. The problems seem to lie on the imports side, in which the situation is similar to Britain's. An answer has been to restrict domestic demand; and at the same time by the use of subsidies and low pricing to secure a high degree of international competitiveness for the goods released from the home market and channelled into export agencies. Whether this will have any effect on Denmark's difficulties is open to doubt. With even fewer natural resources than Britain she finds the difference between the cost of importing the expensive raw materials she requires for the manufacture of exportable articles to be sold abroad in crowded and highly competitive markets and their price when sold abroad results in very little profit to enrich the national coffers. Moreover she is sur-

rounded by countries such as Norway and Germany with embarrassingly large financial surpluses and no particular need of imports; while her neighbour, Sweden, is also in economic difficulties and unable to give any assistance. Needless to say, membership of E.F.T.A. (European Free Trade Association), the northern market area, has not improved Denmark's trading position.

Although Danes are apt to complain about the way in which they are affected by the present financial stringencies they have less reason to grumble than the citizens of the British Isles. Wages in the public sector are about twice our level but prices have not followed suit and are sometimes lower than here. For instance, the Osterport Hotel offers a buffet lunch (unlimited choice and often recommended as the best value in Copenhagen) which costs twenty-three shillings, hardly exorbitantly expensive; and many other restaurants are no dearer than in London. Despite their complaints it sometimes looks as if Danes are never to be seen without ice-creams or frankfurters-and-rolls in their hands, while a bottle of beer stands nearby. Clothes are good, well-made and reasonably priced; and it is possible to buy British clothing cheaper than here. It is not without some amusement that one hears Danes crying out in anguish at mortgages which stand at the historically high figure of 15 per cent which is proportionately less than we pay here. There are some discomforts — there is a temporary ban on private and public building — but a country which boasts more cars per head of population than any other in Europe can hardly plead penury.

There is, in fact, no absolute poverty in Denmark and few of the degrading slums and crude industrial life with which we are only too familiar. The social services which operate extremely beneficially are said to conceal the true areas of distress although it is hard to believe much of this exists, even after a tour of the poorer sections of Copenhagen. The government is attempting to introduce a new system of comprehensive social benefits which will lead in the short term to a considerable increase in government expenditure. It is intended that this new system will be financed to a greater extent through progressive income tax and less by means of contributions, a system which few Danes would challenge and which seems to them eminently reasonable. It would be a mistake, however, to think that Danish society is basically egalitarian. Although it is a country with only very minor social distinctions and where the ostentatious display of wealth is frowned upon, 25 per cent of all tax payers command half the national income, the other half of which is shared by the remaining 75 per cent. Since many people including pensioners and those on social relief of some kind are unlikely to pay tax this means that the distribution of wealth is probably somewhat similar to that of England.

What is surprising is that like many other small European countries Denmark should find money for cultural and sporting activities on an impressive scale. Practically all sport with the exception of cycling and boxing is amateur and many Danes belong to sporting clubs which

are subsidised by the state and local authorities. Oddly enough swimming has declined as a sport since there is a shortage of swimming baths; and seawater pools are generally polluted and unhygienic. There are 10 different symphony orchestras, five music conservatoires, a Royal Ballet company which is world-famous, and about 200 public museums. The Royal Museum of Fine Arts (entrance to which is free) contains a superb and representative collection of Danish paintings as well as fine examples of modern European work. The private museum at Louisiana (the nobleman who formerly owned the estate had three wives called Louisa) is devoted to contemporary art. An interesting feature of this gallery is a room in which visiting children are encouraged to express themselves by using the paints and paper which are provided without charge. The celebrated New Carlsberg Glyptotek established in 1888 and still financed by the Carlsberg breweries contains works of art from all periods but is famous for its impressionist and post-impressionist French paintings. The Danish Museum of Decorative Art, which somewhat resembles the Victoria and Albert Museum in miniature, was also founded with a donation from the Carlsberg firm; during the summer, concerts are held in its gardens. Indeed, the Carlsberg and Tuborg breweries appear to dominate Danish life much as the Guinness firm does in southern Ireland. Radio Denmark, established in 1925, is an independent public institution exercising a monopoly on all radio and television in Denmark: television licences are not cheap at about £14 a year but this does not seem to prevent anyone from investing in a set. The state supports two theatres and subsidises others, but it cannot be said that Danish theatrical life is particularly vital. On the other hand great importance is attached to film-making and since 1967 the cinema has become an independent discipline at Copenhagen University. The former royal palace contains one of the oldest theatres in Europe and is maintained as a theatrical museum. As for higher education, university training usually occupies 6-8 years and is more easily available than in Britain; the right to lecture in the university is held by any person who has obtained a doctorate in his subject.

Denmark has many problems — beside economic ones — that do not admit of any easy answer. Composed as it is of many islands, the country has an enormous coastline and has the expense of maintaining bridges, harbours and ferries, etc. The tourist who drives through miles of undulating woods, farmlands and pastures is generally surprised to learn that he is in one of Europe's most heavily populated countries with a population density of 100 persons to the square kilometre compared with the world average of 20. But then few other countries use 75 per cent of their land for farming. The tourist might be less surprised to know that of the total population or nearly five millions almost a third lives in Copenhagen while barely a fifth lives in strictly rural areas. Despite this large urban population Denmark is short of labour. She could never afford a fairly high degree of unemployment (to the extent with which we are becoming acquainted in Britain) partly

because it would be unacceptable socially but largely because the increasing volume of manufactured exports calls for all available hands and even the import of labour from Turkey, Italy and Spain. In 1944 Iceland dissolved its personal union with Denmark which still holds both Greenland and the Faroe Islands. With an area of 840,000 square miles Greenland is the world's largest island and the problems it poses for Denmark are on a matching scale: poor housing, a high infant mortality rate and a lowish standard of living. But Greenland may possess mineral wealth which could revolutionise both its own and the Danish economy. It is also an important base for American defensive operations. Greenland and the Faroe Isles are increasing embarrassments to Denmark and are among her most awkward problems.

Like most countries Denmark is not without its paradoxes. A nation famed for its cleanliness and attention to all aspects of public health has some of the most polluted beaches in Europe. For all the fame of its designers and architects much of Denmark is suburban in the worst sense. Its new roads are brutally ugly with little attempt at landscaping; and housing is frequently dull, monotonous and not always built with regard to the social needs of the inhabitants. The rows of private villas are not helped by the Danish addiction to garden ornaments among which gnomes and windmills predominate. On the other hand, the countryside is comparatively unspoilt with farms surrounded by trees and factories tucked away among shrubs and flower-beds. The influence of the church is negligible and half the Danish population prefers civil marriage. The crime rate is no worse than elsewhere but it is interesting to note that just over 50 per cent of those sentenced for crime in 1966 were between 18 and 25 years of age which appears to indicate that Danish youth is as unsettled and restless as in other parts of Europe. The fact that all men have to undergo one year's military service at some time between the ages of 18 and 50 does not seem necessarily to result in a growth of civic consciousness. Denmark also has an Ombudsman who ostensibly offers the man in the street an opportunity of lodging a complaint at no cost to himself and without recourse to legal formalities, although less than one-fifth of the complaints received are taken up for investigation.

Denmark's physical flatness is notorious, its highest point being 568 feet above sea level; the tourists are often delighted to see on the map that a peak in Jutland of some 516 feet is called Sky Mountain. Does this, perhaps, offer a guide to the Danish character? The Danish-Norwegian novelist Aksel Sandemose tried to codify certain aspects of the national character in his 'Jante-Law' which contains such gems as 'Thou shall not think thou art more than we are' and 'Thou shall not think thou art able to teach us anything.' In recent years Denmark has become the crossroads of northern Europe but for over a century it was comparatively isolated and has always retained a national identity in which tolerance, kindness and commonsense play a remarkably large part. Thus Copenhagen tolerates the droves of hippies which flock there every year and even sets aside an area in one of the central parks for

them to use as a sleeping area; police brutality and officiousness are conspicuous by their absence. Denmark contributes to the United Nations peace-keeping force and her soldiers have helped to keep the peace in Congo, Cyprus and the Middle East; yet there have been ugly scenes in Copenhagen when struggles have broken out between Danish youths and immigrant workers whose presence is resented in the streets of the capital. In recent years Denmark has become notorious for its total abolition of censorship which has resulted in the mushrooming of an industry devoted to pornography — and the addition of 'porno' to the *lingua franca* of Europe. Danes protest that the pornography is produced for the benefit of foreign tourists and that it is never read by their fellow-citizens while Danish sociologists and criminologists claim that its availability in the country has resulted in a lowering of the crime rate in sexual offences. The true state of affairs probably rests between these two somewhat contradictory statements. It is hard to believe that the pornographic magazines and novels printed in Danish are intended only for foreigners and there are plenty of Danes to be seen entering the 'blue' cinemas. It would be a mistake, however, to think that such entertainments and reading (or viewing) matter are easily obtainable by young people, for they are comparatively expensive: it is true that pornographic magazines can be purchased from slot machines — but only after the insertion of coins to the value of 16 shillings! The invention of the term 'porno' seems to imply a deliberate devaluation of the word 'pornography' which apparently arouses such puritanical hysteria in noble breasts outside Denmark. The Danes seem intent on creating a tempered attitude to sexual activity which is, to say the least, directed by commonsense and by an understanding of the many factors such as birth-control, a population explosion, restricted families, the emancipation of women and increasing urbanisation which determine the nature of social life in this century. On the other hand, what seems to be a relentless urge to diminish the mystery (whether good or bad) of sex may not be unconnected with a soaring divorce rate (and possibly we need to rationalise our attitude to marriage and divorce) and the high level of suicide, especially among men where it occurs on the level of 24 per 100,000 inhabitants.

Denmark is clearly entering an era in her history in which she will need all her gifts as well as her enviable inheritance from the past of sincerity and goodwill towards other nations. She still has considerable moral authority in Scandinavia and her voice is respected throughout Europe. But she has not yet completely emerged from the cocoon of isolation which has protected her for so long; and her people have not yet learnt to live with other nationalities in their midst. Is not that introspection which we find in the writings of Kierkegaard also evident in paradoxical fashion, in the Danish determination to explore publicly, ruthlessly and earnestly every possible action and desire of the human being in the field of sexual choice? The fairy tale, Biedermeier world of Hans Andersen has dominated the Danish mentality for too long.

# OPEN UNIVERSITIES? SOME DEVELOPMENTS IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

**by David Gallon**

AS the Open University draws to the end of its first year of operation, it continues to attract numbers of foreign visitors, the most numerous of whom are now probably those from North America. In the case of the visitors I have met I have tried to make the communication of information and views an exchange. These exchanges I have followed up by written enquiry to some of the American agencies. Thus I am in a position to say a little about the situation in the United States. In this rudimentary survey I am grateful particularly for information conveyed by John R. Valley of the Educational Testing Service, Princeton, and Michael Marien of the Syracuse University Research Center.

Unlike Sputnik, the Open University can hardly have come as a surprise to Americans. There is a number of fairly similar institutions—and also plenty of simple external degree programmes. John Valley's *Inventory of External Degree Programs and Proposals* (March, 1971) lists, by the time of the Supplement (May), thirty-one. Ten of these programmes are at post-graduate level. Thus it is possible to study externally for a Doctorate of Science or Theology at San Francisco Theological Seminary or for a Master's of Science, Electrical or Mechanical Engineering at Colorado State College. Specialisation of content is less in evidence in undergraduate programmes. For example, the School of General Studies at Queen's College (New York) and the Division of Continuing Education at Mundelein College award external B.A.s; while the Evening College of the University of Cincinnati and the School of General Studies of Columbia University award B.Sc.s. Nevertheless, these programmes appear to be closer to those of the London University External Degree Service than to the O.U., with the post-graduate work resembling the external post-graduate degree schemes operated by other British universities.

These external programmes are also instituted by existing universities and restricted to one campus. More ambitious are the 'multi-campus' programmes sponsored by State legislatures or consortia of institutions, which are either on paper or about to be launched at this very time.

There is certainly a great deal of planning activity. Some of it has already proved abortive, much of it promises to be faced with enormous difficulties, and already some of the names of potential organisations suggest that the naïvely impractical not to say the fraudulent, entrepreneur will shortly be moving in. But now, whether as a result of the O.U.'s impact in the U.S. or because the climate of opinion that led to the O.U.'s successful launching exists there too, substantial and exciting schemes are being published.

One ambitious proposal is the University of North America, involving the Educational Testing Service itself. The University would be established for adults for the purpose of extending liberal education, and would use TV,

supported by radio, correspondence, film, programmed learning, study centres, and short residential courses. The University would offer credits, develop instructional materials, administer examinations and award degrees. The geographical extent proposed is particularly ambitious. The sites finally settled on are Southern New England, New Jersey, upstate New York, and Pennsylvania, to be combined under the North-Eastern Open University consortium, but it is proposed to extend the University to Canada and Mexico, as well, presumably, as other parts of the U.S.

An institution that is nearer establishment but is not yet (as far as I know) launched, is the International University for Independent Study. The I.U.I.S. will be chartered by the Board of Regents of New York, but will not *instruct* registered students. It will counsel, in the sense that it will inform students where to find learning resources. The credit equivalents of students who transfer from other institutions will be assessed, while the I.U.I.S. will examine for the award of B.A. degrees. The instructional side of the operation will be handled separately by the College of Individual Learning, though the I.U.I.S. will not serve C.I.L. students exclusively. The proposal for establishing the I.U.I.S. was made by the Academy for Educational Development, President Alvin C. Eurich, whose wife, Dr. Nell Eurich, was joint author of the most accurate full account of the O.U. so far produced in the U.S.

Already, of course, one can see great differences from the O.U. It is natural that anything of such a fully national extent is impossible at this stage, whatever might be predicted in the way of future global electronic universities. The trend is strong in the U.S. to separate instruction and examination (as in the division between the I.U.I.S. and the C.I.L.). Again, it is only when the University of North America plans specifically that one notices that proposals do not always lay the emphasis on adults as persons over 21 that the O.U. does. It is also notable that the University of North America puts TV at the centre of its instructional programme (with correspondence as a support). Similarly, Futures Resources and Development, the business arm of the C.I.L., announce in their brochure:

> Each FRD course system provides a comprehensive Learning Guide, with audio cassette tapes, reference books and a variety of supplemental learning materials.

Perhaps it is not entirely obvious to readers, but to students it need not be emphasised that the correspondence element is the backbone of O.U. learning, with TV and radio and other audio-visual aids as support media (though in the case of Science very strong and indispensable ones).

The division just mentioned between instruction and accreditation deserves to be taken up, since a number of American proposals for external or open degrees are devoted simply to giving credit for existing, unrecognised methods of learning or gaining experience. These proposals are wider ranging than even C.N.A.A. degrees and are rather different from O.U. methods. Even so the O.U. acknowledges some need here for what is a substantial part of the American scene, in its exemptions policy, whereby credit exemptions are granted to its students for experience or qualifications gained elsewhere.

One means of granting credit for work is the New York State Education Department's College Proficiency Examination Program. Examinations are administered twice a year throughout the state, mainly in foreign languages and professional studies. But Robert J. Solomon and John Valley report in their paper 'Credit by Examination and the External Degree', prepared for a House of Representatives Sub-Committee, that although in the first year over 100 collegiate institutions expressed willingness to co-operate in granting credit to students who took the examinations, this was largely a mere gesture.

Another system is the College-Level Examination Program, initiated by E.T.S., developed under the auspices of the College Entrance Examination Board and supported by the Carnegie Corporation. C.L.E.P. now conducts examinations in twenty-eight different subjects. A number of additional subject examinations are in preparation, including five that measure achievement in the general education of an individual as compared with that of the student who has completed two years of residential undergraduate study. One of the largest users of C.L.E.P. is the U.S. Armed Forces Institute.

On similar lines the New York Regents will be granting degrees on the basis of oral and written examinations. These examinations will be developed by faculty committees from existing colleges and universities and will be ready for the public in mid-1972. The first ones will lead to the Bachelor of Business Administration or an Associate of Arts (General Education), and the first of these degrees are expected to be awarded in 1972. The financing comes from Ford and Carnegie, but will have to be supplemented by money from the state legislature.

The Regents' Degree will also complement Empire State College, one of a number of 'multi-campus' proposals nearer to realisation than those previously mentioned. A draft dated December 1970, entitled 'Reshaping the University', constituted a scheme to introduce 'The Extended University' with the State University of New York. Subsequent reports in *The New York Times* (February 17 and February 21, 1971) and an article in *The Saturday Review* (July 17, 1971) showed the progress this extended university, now called Empire State College, to realisation. Students will be assessed on entry to establish their level. Three schemes will be open to them. They can do all work off campus, do some work (a semester) on campus, followed by off-campus study, or they can follow off-campus study, with subsequent short courses on campus. The first and third alternatives are not all that unlike the O.U. pattern, which, one must remember, requires Summer School attendance of its students (a week per Foundation Course, at least) during the degree course. Another resemblance to the O.U. lies in E.S.C.'s assigning a tutor to each student to give general guidance—like an O.U. Counsellor. Tutors, on the other hand, will be campus-based (there are many S.U.N.Y. campuses). The O.U. Study Centres, where Counsellors (part-time) are based, seem more closely matched by the E.S.C.'s Local Study Centers. TV (through the N.Y. Network of state ETV stations) and correspondence (through a college) will support study—

though it is not clear how centrally important the correspondence element will be. 1,000 students were projected for September of this year, 10,000 by 1975 and 40,000 by 1980. Money once more comes from Carnegie and Ford.

The University Without Walls is the work of a consortium. It has developed under the auspices of the Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities (whose President is Dr. Sam Baskin of Antioch College). Eighteen other institutions will participate, including New York University (not to be confused with S.U.N.Y., or, for that matter, with the City University of New York, which is experimenting itself with more 'open' entry). Proposals were summarised in September 1970, reported in *The New York Times* on December 27, 1970 and on January 2, 1971, in the *Christian Science Monitor;* and described in a press release on February 16. Resemblances to the O.U. include the use of what are called 'telelectures' and videotapes. Independent study is encouraged, the time for award of a degree is not fixed and the age range is broad—from sixteen to sixty or older (U.W.W. has thus a broader entry than even the O.U.). Again, the curriculum is not fixed and each institution determines tuition programmes (as each determines admissions policy). Indeed a basic idea of the original planning was that students, as well as faculty and administrators, should design and develop the programmes. Thus there is a much looser structure than in the O.U., since its Regional Offices do not have anything like this implied autonomy. A pilot group of students was admitted in February 1971 and the full scale project was to be under way in autumn of last year with 50 to 75 students at each institution. With only 1,425 students at most therefore U.W.W. will be very much smaller to begin with than the O.U. The money (proportionately less) comes from the H.E.W. Office of Education and Ford.

Perhaps the last institution to be mentioned is the most interesting, the Campus-Free College. This is a very loosely structured university, due to begin this autumn. The integrating feature of C.F.C. will be a network of part-time Program Advisors. There will be about a hundred to begin with, including some outside the U.S. (which, since C.F.C. expects to begin with no more than 200 students, indicates an extremely favourable P.A.-student ratio, compared with the O.U.'s Counsellor-student ratio of one to twenty-five; both figures indicate the small beginnings of C.F.C.). Students and P.A.s plan together a course of study which could rely on traditional methods but which will draw on a variety of resources. A student is admitted to C.F.C. merely by agreeing to work together with a C.F.C. P.A. (who may possibly teach the student himself as part of the planned course of study). The relationship can be broken up at any time by either of the two parties. When a student completes his course of study he offers evidence of learning and if it is approved by the Academic Council (comprising a selection of P.A.s) a degree will be granted. The costs will vary, according to the teaching and other services required, but an annual fee of $1,000 is payable to C.F.C., of which half is for Advisor services.

Contrasting C.F.C. with the 'immediately legitimate', 'mammoth' O.U.,

Michael Marien nevertheless writes, in his working draft, 'Space-Free/ Time-Free Higher-Learning' (September 1971), 'Yet C.F.C., despite its humble beginnings and shoestring financing, should not be taken lightly'. He adds that 'many of those who favor Illich's notions of "deschooling society", will undoubtedly be trying similar ventures in the next few years'. C.F.C. will probably have problems of credibility for a long time —but that is the price of so radical an approach.

In line with these looser structures, and in line too with the tendency to separate accreditation and instruction, supportive perhaps also of the simple credit-awarding pattern, are the other ideas put by Valley and Solomon. They favour, for example, separate guidance and counselling for the 'unaffiliated student' as a means of guiding him amongst the bewildering paths of degree-level education. Along with this concept goes the idea of providing 'resource banks'. The proposal, to be found in Illich and Everett Reimer too, is to store records of achievements, experience and systems to be drawn on by, among others, the unaffiliated student. Even so, Valley and Solomon, and Valley with J. N. Arbolino in *Continuing Education* (October 1970), move towards institutionalising these loose structures in the idea of a National University, which would integrate guidance and resource banking.

The tendencies of these ideas indicate that it is perhaps time to draw attention to the radical nature of so much of the thinking on higher education in the U.S. and to put the new proposals into the context of current opinion. For much of the activity is still devoted to theory and the formulation of the problems and issues, and to clearing the ground. Thus Solomon and Valley write

> How closely should external degree programs parallel or relate to regular degree programs? What does a regular degree stand for? What protections do we need to build into external degree programs to ensure that the delicate balance between high quality and reasonable standards is attained? Do we need new organization or new institutions to protect the public interest in external degree programs? (Pages 13, 14.)

The approach here is different from the British one, but admittedly valid. The Americans, with larger and wider problems, are concerned with analysis of the situation, assessment of the possibilities, mustering of the questions, before formulating what answers there are available. In Britain we have taken a plunge in establishing the Open University. In the careful planning many of the problems were foreseen. Many were unforeseen and have had to be solved in action—with the advantage that the actuality of the institution is a help in solving them. One sees the issues more clearly in a real situation and thereby solves the problems, although unforeseen, more readily. This is the British method. If other countries can also use our model in developing their ideas and proposals, so much the better.

Towards the development of positive proposals the C.E.E.B. and E.T.S. have set up a National Commission on Non-Traditional Study, supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. The purpose of this Commission is to examine the opportunities for external higher education. It will make general recommendations as to the further development of these

opportunities and particular ones for providing recognition for the study that results from increased opportunities. The net result should be an increase in external programmes and a guarantee of their worth. At the same time C.E.E.B. and E.T.S. have established an Office of External Degree Programs. Initially this Office will co-ordinate the existing schemes for credit offered by C.E.E.B. and E.T.S., and it will then increase the service they provide in examining for external degree programmes proposed by other institutions.

Finally it is necessary to increase the spectrum even more by referring to the mass of stimulating material (description, research or polemic) that exists in the U.S. in the fields of all education, not simply higher education, as a background and also a forcing house to present schemes and future ones.

I have already mentioned Ivan D. Illich and Everett Reimer. Both have recently had books published in Britain, Illich's *De-Schooling Society* (Calder and Boyars) and Reimer's *School is Dead* (Penguin Education Specials), but even so they are still virtually unknown here. Possibly, British readers may know of the 'Newman Report' and may have heard of John Gardner and Paul Goodman. But a bibliography like Michael Marien's *Alternative Futures for Learning* (Educational Policy Research Center, Syracuse, 1971) must come as an eye-opener. There are 936 fully documented items, almost all except for a handful of British names (Neill, Ashby, Young, Peterson), from America. And this work cannot be dismissed as mere verbiage. The variety is enormous—from solid reports from the President's Commissions, Carnegie Commissions and the various relevant associations, to underground books like Jerry Farber's *The Student as Nigger*. There are studies of Junior Colleges such as Byron Lamar Johnson's *Islands of Innovation Expanding* and studies of wider significance, like Harold Taylor's attempt at a more relevant educational policy, *The World as Teacher*. Then there are other exciting titles—*Overlive* (by William M. Birenbaum), Michael Zweig's *The Idea of a World University*, verging on the eccentricity that at least symptomises large, exploratory thought, and R. J. Blakely's *Toward a Homeodynamic Society;* also the common-sense works, without which a revolution cannot be permanent, William Glasser's *Schools without Failure* and *The Future of the Future* (John McHale).

The United States perhaps lacks the British tradition of years of respectable extra-mural adult education, but on this evidence of positive and careful thinking she cannot fail to produce exciting schemes and valid realities.

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# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## THE BURDEN OF POWER

*The Vantage Point—Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963-69.* Lyndon Baines Johnson. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £5.50.

Mr. Lytton Strachey, in an Essay recently published has described Asquith as one whose profession was to go through life making a good impression. One has remarked before that politicians are the most elusive, though persistent autobiographers. This aptitude for making a good impression is so occupationally ingrained in them. The difficulty of unearthing the real man is harder in their case than in any other. No fair-minded reader reasonably unprejudiced who has never met President Johnson and now encounters him for the first time in this long and important book can fail to like him. If we accept him at his own valuation which includes his own admissions of weakness we shall find him not only a good but a lovable man. Personally I cannot resist this assessment.

But first, one or two comparisons between this book and leading autobiographies here. Like Mr. Wilson's autobiography it provides a detailed record of his period of rule (Johnson 1963-69: Wilson 1964-70). But President Johnson benefiting it may be from the fact of his retirement writes more intimately about himself. The discussions with his wife in 1964 and 1968 about running or not running for the Presidency are much more personally revealing than anything that could reasonably be expected from an ex-British Prime Minister who may well be Prime Minister again. Mr. Johnson's self exposure is more nearly paralleled by that of Lord Butler, also in political retirement. But Lord Butler drops the shutter a good deal earlier. There is no close analogy with Mr. Macmillan's series of volumes which, as far as it is humanly possible, set out to provide a history of the times without too much subjectivity. Mr. Johnson says clearly in his Preface 'I have not written these chapters to say this is how it was' but to say, 'This is how I saw it from my vantage point.' In this he has been remarkably successful, as have the other writers mentioned to a greater or lesser extent.

Returning to President Johnson, the man, as distinct from the author or even the statesman, what is it that one finds so attractive? Basically his humility, or some would call it modesty. It is clear from the 1964 discussions with his wife that he was genuinely reluctant to stand for the Presidency in that year, after his few months in the supreme office following the assassination of President Kennedy. He mentions his severe heart attack nine years earlier. One is left uncertain throughout the book about the effects of this shadow lurking in the background. What is more striking was his conviction 'that the nation would (never) unite indefinitely behind any Southerner. One reason the country would not rally behind a Southern President I was convinced, was that the metropolitan press of the Eastern seaboard would never permit it. My experience in office had confirmed this reaction. I was not thinking just of the derisive articles about my style, my clothes, my manner, my accent, and my family—although I admit

I received enough of that kind of treatment in my first few months as President to last a lifetime. I was also thinking of a more deep-seated and far-reaching attitude—a disdain for the South that seems to be woven into the fabric of Northern experience.' It is very frank of President Johnson to tell us this. It makes it almost too easy for us to saddle him with an inferiority complex. Not that such a complex is necessarily opposed to virtue. It may drive a politician into an obsessive love of power as was often said of President Johnson (unfairly) or push him finally in a precisely opposite direction.

The reasons he decided not to run again in 1968 were clearly multiple but there was never any doubt where Mrs. Johnson stood. 'For several years Lady Bird and I had spoken many times about our plans to leave the White House at the end of my first full term. Her position had remained perfectly clear and consistent since she had first expressed it to me in the spring of 1964: she did not want me to be a candidate in 1968. We discussed often how to select the proper time and the right occasion to make the announcement.' Somehow one cannot see L.B.J. seeking re-election against *her* convictions. He explains that only one thing could have changed his mind: an indication that the men in Viet-Nam would regard it as unfair or unwise. He satisfied himself that this would not be so after a talk with General Westmoreland in November 1967.

When he came to make his moving statement to the nation about his retirement, he dwelt on factors other than his long-standing intention. Legitimately no doubt with the troops in mind. Try as he will—and he tries very hard—he cannot quite suppress the thought that he was badly treated somewhere: 'A cerain degree of violent disagreement with our Vietnam effort was inevitable, but I am convinced that it passed the bounds of reasonable debate and fair dissension. It became a self-inflicted wound of critical proportions. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that this dissension prolonged the war, prevented a peaceful settlement on reasonable terms, encouraged our enemies, disheartened our friends, and weakened us as a nation.' It was certainly astonishing that a President who had won such a staggering electoral triumph in 1964 should have aroused such appalling antagonism three years later.

Was it the inevitable inheritance, as he feared it would be at the beginning, of a Southerner in the supreme position? A more obvious answer is that he made terrible mistakes in his Vietnam policy though even his worst enemies ought to admit his honesty. Here he does not make extravagant claims for his wisdom. He concedes that he may have made plenty of mistakes, some of them serious. But he insists to the end that by and large he handed on to President Nixon an improving situation and that under his Presidency the United States did her duty to the world.

This contention will be widely resisted. It is harder to combat his thesis that far-reaching social reforms were carried out during the same period especially in the field of Civil Liberties, although he is only too well aware of mounting problems left unsolved. Throughout the book he presents himself as one who sought at all times to carry out the aspirations of President Kennedy. If he leans too far in this direction or in playing down, it may be, his differences with the President's brother this can surely be forgiven. He has written 569 pages with hardly an unkind word about anybody mentioned by name. He has nothing to gain from such courtesy by this time of day. One puts down the book with the feeling that one has been in contact with a generous nature.

LONGFORD

## LORD LINDSAY OF BIRKER

*A. D. Lindsay.* A Biography by Drusilla Scott. Basil Blackwell, £4.20.

No person who knew Sandie Lindsay (later Lord Lindsay of Birker) can review this book, written by his daughter with such loving objectivity, without profound emotion. Perhaps I would do best by quoting an opinion of him by Sir Isaiah Berlin (p. 223): 'I thought him wrong-headed in some ways but a great public figure—a man of the most unusual moral and psychological power —who had perhaps missed his vocation in being a philosopher at Oxford when he might have been an unforgettable statesman of the highest order and Gladstonian moral significance.' Who knows? He stood as an Independent Candidate for Oxford in a by-election in 1938 and narrowly missed a triumphant victory. Reluctantly he accepted a Peerage in later life and made significant speeches in the House of Lords. But his wealth of achievement, as Master of Balliol, as Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, as the creator of Nuffield College and Keele University and in a score of other academic and educational endeavours, weigh heavily on the other side.

It is impossible to measure in 'matter-moulded forms of speech' the achievements of Sandie Lindsay—whether you call him Professor, Master of Balliol or Lord Lindsay of Birker. His influence extended to Glasgow and Edinburgh, which nurtured him; to the W.E.A., Adult Education and to Unemployed Settlements in South Wales and elsewhere; to India and to the United States; to the corridors of power in Whitehall; and above all to scores of dons, such as Lord Fulton or Lord Morris of Grasmere; to hundreds of students, not excluding Ted Heath, Lord Pakenham, Philip Kaiser (Rhodes Scholar), Lord Selkirk and countless others.

Nor is it possible to estimate what his influence meant to thousands of people who still read his more lasting books (e.g. *The Modern Democratic State*) and his prolific publications; and to countless others (e.g. Lord Wigg) whose devotion was complete. I am inclined to think that his influence in the workshops of democracy was more far-reaching and enduring than any potential experience in Government, short of being Prime Minister.

We are still left with an enigmatic personality. Perhaps I can throw some light on this controversial character. As a post-war undergraduate at Oxford, 1918-21, I attended Lindsay's lectures and most of my tutors were at Balliol—Tawney, Namier and Kenneth Bell. In a word, I was aware of his problems and later the problems of the 'General Strike' (1926) and later still of the problems of 'The Thirties' and of Munich. I attended many of his seminars, before Nuffield College was established. I was one of the first governors of Keele University, appointed by the Crown. And yet, he was never wholly convincing to me. I approved of so much, especially the Foundation of Keele, which had profound implications on future policy in the field of Universities.

In a word, Lindsay was undoubtedly a great and reforming genius in the field of university education. He contributed much, but perhaps most important of all was his interpretation of the Christian approach to learning, never a popular line in any age. We now live in another world. My hope is that there are other Sandie Lindsays, who in their own context will help to create new 'Keeles'. Some have been already created.

We owe a deep debt to Drusilla Scott for her brilliant and dedicated biography of her father.

KENNETH LINDSAY

## TWO TRAGIC STORYTELLERS

*The Fiction of Katherine Mansfield.* Marvin Magalaner. Southern Illinois University Press. Feffer and Simons, London, $5.45.

*'Isak Dinesen' and Karen Blixen: The Mask and the Reality.* Donald Hannah. Putnam and Co., £3.00.

The two women writers considered in this review had differing tragic elements in their lives and were near contemporaries in their birth, Katherine Mansfield in 1888 and Karen Blixen (*born* Karen Dinesen) in 1885. The only other link between them is that both practised the art of the Short Story.

Katherine Mansfield's contribution to modern literature is the subject of Professor Marvin Magalaner's weighty and systematic study. Born in New Zealand of middle-class parents (her real name was Kathleen Beauchamp) she was sent at fifteen to Queen's College London—the thought suggests itself: like a youngster thrown into the deep end of a swimming pool. She wrote sketches for the College magazine and obviously worked hard, but after three years was forced to return home. Restive and wilful, by 1908 she was allowed to return to London with a small allowance. The author refers to her at this still-teenage stage as 'a bewilderingly volatile person whose principal characteristic appears to be inconsistency in personal affairs.' In her sex life this was abundantly true. In 1909 she married George Bowden and left him, disillusioned, in less than twenty-four hours. Shortly afterwards she was pregnant by another man. The pregnancy resulted in a miscarriage which she endured in solitary anguish in a German retreat. Ill health dogged her during the next year and a serious operation disturbed her peace of mind. In 1911 ill health persisted, complicated by another affair that resulted in an abortion.' Everyone knows how, the next year, she met John Middleton Murry, with whom she lived on and off until she divorced her husband and was able to re-marry. Two years before that, in 1916, she had become a semi-invalid with tuberculosis and heart trouble. Until she died seven years later, January 9th, 1923, in the Gurdjieff Institute, Paris, she spent her life in France and Italy, fraught with 'emotional and psychological maladies as awful as the diseases themselves;' but, as Professor Magalaner says, 'she wrote most of her most distinguished fiction, though it was a period of her deepest sickness', also contributing to the *Athenaeum* (edited by Murry) numerous book reviews, criticisms and poetry and a selection of the letters of Chekhov.

Stated thus, Katherine Mansfield's personal story is a chronicle of horror, even when set against the fact that she was an artist of scrupulous practice and integrity. There is a tender humility in her avowal to A. R. Orage near the end of her life: 'there is not one (story) I dare show to God'. But those of us who have savoured 'Bliss', 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel', 'Prelude' and 'At the Bay' know that her tender and compassionate elucidation of human motives and situations give her an assured place in modern fiction.

The appearance of a biographical and critical study of the Danish author Baroness Karen Blixen-Finecke (1885-1962) will strike a chord of remembrance in the minds of many readers of her stories and other writings. They had a wide vogue in England and America under one or other of the two names she used—and this thin covering of identity gives a clue to Dr. Hannah's sub-title 'The Mask and the Reality'. She wrote mostly in English, due not alone to her bi-lingual upbringing in the family home near Copenhagen—where she was christened Karen Dinesen—but to her seventeen years spent in British East Africa after she married, in 1913, her Swedish cousin Baron Bror von Blixen-

Finecke, and began the adventure of farming 6,000 acres. It was an unhappy union: her husband, like so many of the aristocratic white settlers from Europe was a wild liver. After a year of marriage he infected her with a disease which necessitated her return to Denmark for treatment. The marriage never prospered; the couple had utterly different temperaments; and after her terrible experience they soon separated, though some years elapsed before she divorced her husband. After their separation Karen Blixen was left to run the farm alone—which entailed dealing with two hundred native families of squatters apart from the actual farming responsibilities. Not surprisingly the farm ran into so much debt that it was impossible to go on and she returned to Denmark. Her childhood had been unhappy—given over to the rigid control of a grandmother and aunt after the tragic suicide of her father when she was ten years of age. During her last two years in East Africa two Englishmen who had become her valued friends were killed—one in a plane crash and the other in a car accident. She had always written stories and brief fantasies; she had been a gifted painter; and now, emerging from the sad but colourful years in Kenya, she faced the necessity of earning a living and concentrated her abilities on the writing of the remarkable tales which attracted thousands of readers during the remaining years of life. It is moving to read of her strength and resolution, often writing in great pain and suffering, enduring long spells in hospital and a series of operations which were a legacy of the disenchantment in Africa. Towards the end Karen Blixen weighed less than five stone. Finally, on the 7th September, 1962, she died in her home near Copenhagen at the age of seventy-seven and was buried in the grounds under a large beech tree, with the grave stone simply incised Karen Blixen.

Professor Hannah's story of this fine and courageous woman is woven into chapters of close evaluation of her numerous stories, essays and other writings. Her work proceeds out of dreams, as so much Scandinavian writing does—unlike Katherine Mansfield's which bears the impress of reality. Karen Blixen's writings never attained to greatness, but they hold an honoured place in European storytelling.

Readers who wish to make, or revive, acquaintance with this author's works are referred to the following titles: by *Isak Dinesen*: 'Seven Gothic Tales' 1934; 'Winter's Tales', 1942; 'Last Tales', 1957; and by *Karen Blixen*: 'Out of Africa'. All published by Putnam and Co., London.

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

## KAFKA AND THE TERROR OF ART

*Conversations with Kafka.* Gustav Janouch. Translated by Goronwy Rees. Andre Deutsch, £2.

*The Terror of Art: Kafka and Modern Literature.* Martin Greenberg. Andre Deutsch, £2.25.

The two 'Kafka' items here noticed are a significant tribute to the magnetic appeal of the Czech genius who died of tuberculosis in 1924 at the age of forty-one. Born in Prague in 1883, the son of a Jewish merchant, Franz Kafka had early literary aspirations which conflicted with paternal dominance. He accepted that authority; he studied first medicine, then law before taking a doctorate in law and becoming a clerk in the Czech Government's Workmen's Insurance Office. He fulfilled his duties well while his spirit ranged freely over such secret conjectures as might arise, for example, by his absorption in Freud's

Theory of the Unconscious. More and more his creative mind turned to allegory and fantasy in an endeavour to resolve the problems of the world of reality.

Gustav Janouch—a sensitive schoolboy, bookworm son of an executive in the Workmen's Insurance Office—was introduced to Kafka four years before his death and became his close friend and confidant. In Kafka's office, and on their many walks and talks together, he stored up memories of their conversations which he religiously diarised. After Kafka's death, these Boswell-like notes were shown to Max Brod, the dead man's literary executor, who arranged for their publication in a German edition in 1951, and this was translated and an English edition appeared in 1953. Unfortunately the young enthusiast muddled his manuscripts, and only many years later did he discover a body of his original notes folded away in a box with a volume of old waltzes by Johann Strauss. Hence this second, completed edition, twice the length of the first which had been published twenty years earlier.

In one of their early conversations Janouch mentioned a friend who greatly admired 'The Metamorphosis', Kafka's most famous story which had been published in 1916. He told him how his friend had described him as 'a new, more profound and therefore more significant Edgar Allan Poe':

> ". . . I told him about this new admirer of his, but aroused neither interest nor understanding. On the contrary, Kafka's expression showed that any discussion of his book was distasteful to him. I, however, was filled with a zeal for discoveries, and so I was tactless.
>
> 'The hero of the story is called Samsa,' I said. 'It sounds like a cryptogram for Kafka. Five letters in each word . . .'
>
> Kafka interrupted me.
>
> 'It is not a cryptogram. Samsa is not merely Kafka, and nothing else. *The Metamorphosis* is not a confession, although it is—in a certain sense—an indiscretion.'
>
> 'I know nothing about that.'
>
> 'Is it perhaps delicate and discreet to talk about the bugs in one's own family?'
>
> 'It isn't usual in good society.'
>
> 'You see what bad manners I have'.
>
> Kafka smiled. He wished to dismiss the subject. But I did not wish to.
>
> 'It seems to me that the distinction between good and bad manners hardly applies here,' I said. '*The Metamorphosis* is a terrible dream, a terrible conception.'
>
> Kafka stood still.
>
> 'The dream reveals the reality, which conception lags behind. That is the horror of life—the terror of art. But now I must go home.'
>
> He took a curt farewell.
>
> Had I driven him away?
>
> I felt ashamed."

That conversation is a fitting pendant to Kafka's curdling tale of the transformation of a commercial traveller into a giant insect. To read it is an unforgettable experience.

In *The Terror of Art* (the title supplied by the above-quoted conversation) Mr. Martin Greenberg critically examines the achievement of Kafka's remarkable contribution to modern literature. On his opening page he writes "There is a surprising entry in Kafka's diary which he made on February 19, 1911, when he was twenty-seven years old:

> "The special nature of my inspiration . . . lies in this, that I am capable of everything and not just of what goes into a particular piece of work. If

> I write down the first sentence that comes into my head, for instance, 'He looked out of the window,' it already has perfection."

and Mr. Greenberg, while noting Kafka's confidence in his literary powers as an 'extraordinary assertion' takes this as a declaration that his prose had *style*. Two years later, after finishing his great story 'The Judgment', he wrote in his diary that he wrote it:

> "at one stretch on the night of the 22nd-23rd from ten o'clock in the evening to six o'clock in the morning . . . The terrible strain and joy, how the story unfolded before me as if I were advancing over water."

Mr. Greenberg declares that Kafka became "a major writer when he discovered his dream narrative. 'The Judgment' was the beginning of a development that advanced through 'The Metamorphosis', fell back in 'Amerika', still faltered on 'In the Penal Colony', and then succeeded on a large scale in 'The Trial' and 'The Castle'." The last two novels were published after his death. Mr. Greenberg is steeped in the study of Kafka and his works; he is the translator of his diaries and is admirably clear and convincing in his elucidation of the novels and stories and the obsessions with psycho-analysis which brought them to life.

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

# SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

**Portugal and Africa** (Hutchinson, £2.50). The 'people and the war' is the sub-title of John Sykes latest book which is full of local atmosphere. He writes in vivid and appreciative terms within the context of a visit in 1970 to Portugal and Mocambique, made possible through introductions to members of an ancient patrician family from the Alentejo, itself politically divided. In both countries, he sought through personal contacts to evaluate the nature and strengths of both the official and underground political forces at work. In both there is the overriding authoritarian regime imposed from the government in Lisbon. In Portugal, inevitably he found that 'this country was subdivided into worlds that barely touched, that were not always in the same century'. In Mocambique the contrasts are even sharper, with the small white minority striving to contain and dominate the great black majority. Although there is a degree of multi-racialism in Portuguese Africa which appals the South African visitor, the African remains the second class Portuguese citizen. Mr. Sykes talked to coloured as well as white intellectual nationalists, whose views stretch from those who seek immediate armed revolution to others resigned to a long process of political struggle. But all appear to support the guerilla warfare, and there seems little doubt that the whites fear the future. Yet they still look to ultimate success, with the help of South Africa if necessary. One army officer was quite frank; 'finally it is the whites who have to rule. With force, yes.' There has been some progress among the Africans, including in education. The nationalists attribute this to white fear. 'From our point of view' said one, 'the threat from the guerillas keeps the colony moving forward . . . we go for education: all of us, as many as we can. We get the jobs. We head for independence.'

**Obed Mutezo** (Oxford University Press, £1.30). This remarkable book by Ndabaningi Sithole was first published in Nairobi in 1970. Its republication in England draws attention to the historical background to nationalist

aspirations in Rhodesia. The book was written by Sithole, leader of ZANU, while in detention and smuggled out of Salisbury Prison. It is concerned with the life and political struggle of Obed Mutezo, a Mudzimu Christian Nationalist, with its constant frustration by detention and imprisonment. Mutezo's grandfather was an induna in the service of the Gaza king, Ngungunyana, and it is this nationalist background which has greatly influenced Mutezo's career. Professor T. O. Ranger in his Introduction points out the book is 'an exploration of the roots of African nationalism in Southern Rhodesia, through the description of the life of one man, Obed Mutezo. It is a book which reveals Ndabaningi Sithole's deep concern for the past'. President Kaunda has written a brief foreword.

**Writings of the Left** (Jonathan Cape). This paperback series under the general editorship of Ralph Miliband is designed to make more easily available some of the literature in the history of the revolutionary Left. These volumes will speak 'in the many different voices of the Left, and on matters which remain central to socialist theory and practice'. Two volumes now appear. In **The Paris Commune of 1871** (£3.50 hardback, £1.50 paperback) Dr. Eugene Schulkind has edited and introduced a series of documents, translated into English, showing 'the view from the Left'. In order to present the views of the militant Communards at really popular level, he has 'drawn extensively upon wall posters, circulars, ephemeral papers, and manuscript miscellany from these popular sources, without neglecting more conventional sources that expressed Left views'. The second volume contains selected political writings of the Marxist, **Rosa Luxemburg** (£3.50 hardback, £1.50 paperback). Robert Looker has edited a representative collection of her work, particularly in the context of its relevance to present day thinking. Most of the translation from the German has been carried out by William D. Graf.

**Maurice Burton's World of Nature** (Purnell/BPC Publishing Ltd. 80 pence). The justly-famous natural history writer addresses his absorbing pages to readers in the 10 to 14 age bracket. Among the exciting wild-life features are articles on conservation, adaptation to man-made environments, animal behaviour, etc. All kinds of living creatures—birds, reptiles, mammals, insects and plants—are discussed in a fascinating context of drawings and photographs, many of them in colour. A delightful well-printed book which gives answers to 'nature' questions that often arise.

**Purnell's Concise Encyclopaedia of Nature** (BPC Publishing Ltd., £1.75). Edited by Michael Chinnery, this compendious volume well deserves the claims made for it by the publishers. It contains instructive articles on main aspects of Nature—Plants, Animal, Bird and Fish life; on Evolution, Prehistoric Life, and on Ecology. The 1,000 illustrations in colour and black and white must immediately appeal to the 9 to 15 year-old age group, and the text is admirably lucid and well-argued. The compilation is in fact an admirable reading and reference book for all members of any alert-minded family.

**Lancashire Authors Today** (County Authors Today, 2 Greycoat Place, London, S.W.1. £1.50). Dr. Geoffrey Handley-Taylor has compiled this useful checklist of authors born or resident in Lancashire. No particulars are given of their publications. There is unfortunately a marked exodus of Lancashire born writers. Of 502 listed in this volume, 359 live elsewhere in the United Kingdom and 37 overseas.

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## EMPLOYMENT POLICIES IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

by Nancy Seear

RADICALS on both sides of the Atlantic are increasingly critical of British and American companies which earn substantial profits in the Republic of South Africa. Opposition is expressed at shareholders' meetings, through the mass media and by demonstrations. Many liberal minded people share this disquiet. To collaborate with a regime based on apartheid is intolerable and the poverty of the African worker makes such profits highly suspect.

Industrialisation in South Africa, as elsewhere, has been accompanied by urbanisation and a wide range of horrifying social problems. Low pay and the employment of immigrant male African workers lead to slum housing conditions, to the separation of families and to frequent personal tragedies. For the African in industrial areas acute poverty is widespread, if not the norm. In 1969 it was calculated that the minimum family budget for an average African family of five was R59.70 per month. Two years earlier the official Johannesburg Municipal Non-European Affairs Department calculated that 68 per cent of the families in Johannesburg had incomes below this figure. Poverty and the apartheid policy combined have led to the creation of such African townships as Soweto. It is asserted by the authorities that Soweto is a great improvement on African conditions elsewhere and that Soweto houses are eagerly sought. But if such bleakness is indeed an advance, the mind boggles at the thought of conditions in other parts of the Republic.

It is all too easy to see these problems out of perspective. Pre-industrial as well as industrial Africa knows suffering and disaster. Soweto may be squalid, but life in the mountain villages in adjacent self-governing Lesotho can be brief and bitter too. If the drought comes, not all will live to see the ensuing rains. At any one time 43 per cent of the men of Lesotho have left their homes and country to work in the Republic. No one forces them to go. Presumably to them such employment is the lesser of two evils. And only substantial capital investment from outside Lesotho can alter this situation.

It is also true that industrialisation everywhere has brought tribulation as well as progress. Alike in eighteenth century Britain and in modern China it has been accompanied by the breakdown of a secure and traditional way of life and by catastrophes unknown in earlier days. What at each stage has made it acceptable, at the time and in retrospect, has been the real chance of better things to come at the end of the day; of a better life for an ever increasing number of people.

What, in contrast, makes the South African scene so bitter is the deliberate attempt to withhold the benefits of industrialisation from the African. African opportunities for education are severely limited, and under the Schedule of Reserved Occupations he is restricted to lower level jobs. By these methods the African appears condemned to see the prizes of industrialisation placed beyond his grasp. It is the indignity of the current treatment combined with the paucity of the ultimate rewards which makes the whole process so damnable in many people's eyes.

The inhumanity of this policy is matched only by its irrationality. The country has immense resources and its economic growth rate is held back by the shortage of trained manpower. In the midst of poverty there is the capacity for a great and rapid increase in wealth. As one prominent white industrialist has put it: 'If this country made better use of the African labour force, it could do a Japan'. It is the final irony of the situation that economic self-interest, not always the soundest guide to social progress, demands the provision of greater opportunities for Africans, but this self-interest is denied in response to even more powerful forces.

But what should be done about it? 'Play Samson', say some. 'Pull out and let the whole beastly system tumble, if necessary on our own heads.' Economic collapse, it is argued, will destroy the rotten political regime and out of chaos will arise a fairer society, an African society, where the black man will at last come into his own.

*But will he?*

Let us suppose that political pressures did in fact lead British and American companies to decide to leave the Republic. What would be likely to happen? In the most extreme form they could cut their losses, leave their mines and their factories, refuse to draw any further income from them and lose all the capital invested. They could of course give it away only in the unlikely event of their shareholders agreeing to such a policy. In any case, if they did hand over their businesses and factories, to whom would they give them?

As things are there are certainly not enough Africans trained to take over these businesses. Nor can it be imagined that the Government would permit any such experiment to be tried. In the slightly less unlikely event of the companies selling out, the purchasers would be either the Government itself, or the nationals of other countries who would buy the businesses for their own benefit. Economic collapse would not follow and it is hard to see how the condition of the African would improve. It is in any case a persistent illusion of sections of radical opinion that from economic chaos emerges a fairer political system. Experience suggests it is more

likely to lead to the establishment of yet another tyranny.

To reject a policy of withdrawal is not however to accept the status quo. A third direction needs to be discovered.

The best hope for advance still lies in the great potential wealth of the country and in its need for trained African manpower. At present there is a head-on collision between political and economic objectives. It is not necessary to be an economic determinist to believe that this situation cannot continue indefinitely and that those who possess economic power possess also considerable political leverage.

Nominally, under the existing Schedule of Reserved Occupations there is a list of 23 jobs in which Africans may not be employed. The Government has given notice of its intention to extend this list still further. To supporters of the Government it is apparently unthinkable that a white man should ever work under an African supervisor and sections of the white trade union movement have a very strong vested interest in the exclusion of Africans from jobs that they have succeeded in reserving for whites. The Africans are therefore limited to low-level jobs. As, in addition, they are excluded from trade unions it is hardly surprising that many are in conditions which rival or even surpass the plight of British workers in the worst phases of the industrial revolution. In 1969 in the mining industry, the average earnings of whites in the mines was 18.6 times the average earnings of Africans. The level of work was of course different as a result of the restrictions in African employment, and the figure does not include payment in kind. But even if these adjustments are made the gap remains very wide indeed. In manufacturing industry the comparable figure was 5.5.

Severe though these restrictions are it is freely admitted that the law is widely disregarded. The shortage of skilled labour and the opportunities for industrial development are such that employers frequently breach the regulations, creating new opportunities for Africans. That this is in the interests of employers is apparent. What is more surprising, and perhaps in many ways more important, is the extent to which changes are taking place in sections of the trade union movement as well. Writing in *Optima* in March 1971, Mr. R. Kraft, Assistant General Secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa said: 'The non-white is now knocking on the door of the traditional skilled preserves of the white elite, as well as being required in large numbers in many semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in the Metropolitan white areas, and this situation is reviving the periodic anxiety of white workers. They all sense that changes in labour policy and practice are imperative if the economy is to be saved.' It is highly significant that a white trade union official, while recognising the anxiety of white workers, is plainly identifying with the need for change. The door to wider job opportunities for Africans though still legally barred, is beginning slowly and surreptitiously to open. Here surely is one place for those with power to concentrate their efforts, even if, at this stage, the speed of advance may well be in inverse proportion to the noise which is made.

If the extension of job opportunities can be brought about officially only by changes in the law, there is within the existing framework much that

could be done. Money is by no means everything. It gives in itself neither dignity nor job interest. But at the present level of African wages it is exceedingly important. It cannot be said too often that there is no legal maximum on the level of pay for an African. Minimum wages are fixed by law, but the low level of African earnings is the result of lack of training, restriction in employment opportunities, the number of Africans seeking work and the absence of trade union organisation. It is not the result of legal controls. There is nothing to stop the Boards of companies operating in South Africa from fixing minimum rates higher than those required by law and establishing a wage structure deliberately calculated to reduce and ultimately abolish the colour differential. Such a policy might well be introduced quickly in response to a company's recognition that the standards of the multi-national company are very much open to world wide scrutiny, especially where they are operating in highly sensitive political areas. Moreover, it is not news to most of these companies that cheap labour is often, in the long run, very expensive.

But a voluntary improvement in African wage levels is perhaps not the most important of the changes which the companies could bring about. The African is seriously handicapped by the inadequacy of his basic education. Few people in the western democracies would argue in favour of works schools, which are inevitably open to the charge of paternalism and manipulation. But so far as the Africans are concerned, South Africa is not a western democracy. Company profits ploughed back into African education, both general and vocational, would probably, from the Africans' point of view, be one of the best uses to which they could be put. It needs to be done at all levels. Africans are excluded from apprenticeship schemes, but in modern industry apprenticeship is in any case in many spheres being superseded by carefully designed, highly specific training schemes. The more such schemes can be used to raise the earning level of the African by raising his level of work, the better for all concerned.

Part of this training programme could with advantage include the establishment of Productivity Committees. The restriction on trade unions is a severe handicap to the African for which no internal committee can compensate. Nonetheless, the Productivity Committee, rightly used, can give the African some say in the affairs which indirectly concern him at work, and can be a very valuable instrument of education in the running of the business.

Management training for Africans may at first sight seem irrelevant, in view of national public policy, yet sooner or later there must be a breakthrough. It will be tragic if, when the time comes, there are not enough Africans sufficiently trained and experienced to take top jobs. The multi-national company, by definition, has extensive contacts and interests outside as well as within the country. Company scholarships for appropriate management training courses have of course been extensively used by these companies in other African countries as part of their Africanisation programmes. It could be argued that it is useless to train black South Africans for management if they are not to be permitted to hold

management positions in their own country. But the companies have openings in a number of countries. Experience in management in some other country may be the only way the black South African can gain the expertise he will need, when eventually the situation changes in the Republic. It could do much for race relations in the United Kingdom if well trained Africans were appointed to management and specialist posts in the British sections of multi-national companies.

Unquestionably South Africa is a cauldron. It would be a very blind man who would prophesy with confidence that it would develop without passing through phases of violence and chaos. The position of the white employer of African labour is a target for attack from many quarters. It may well be the counsel of prudence for white companies and investors to have as little to do with South Africa as possible. But the best, perhaps the only, hope that chaos can be avoided lies in the economic success of the country and in the realisation that self-interest and political security alike require a drastic change in employment policies. It does not in the least follow that if Africans get more money, better living conditions, access to top jobs then the political problems can be dealt with peaceably. But it slightly increases the chance that this may happen. What is beyond question is the real economic power in the hands of the multi-national companies. How they use it may well be decisive.

# THE POWER OF PARLIAMENT

by the Rt. Hon. Michael Stewart, C.H., M.P.

IT is fashionable today to talk of the decline of Parliament and to suggest that it is undignified, ineffective and ill-informed, and to argue that the real power of decision lies elsewhere. But was this ever unfashionable? Dickens, once a parliamentary correspondent, called its proceedings 'theatricals', and the M.P.s who appear in his novels are stuffed shirts. Thomas Hughes called it, contemptuously, the 'Palaver' and represented it as a snobbish club. Bernard Shaw's contempt was unbounded ('The British people have always elected a Parliament of lunatics'). Even the gentler Tawney was once heard to describe it as a 'damned monkey-house'. All these were men who passionately desired reforms, the virtue of which is now universally admitted; the reforms were brought about by legislation passed by Parliament. No reform, however, is so virtuous that it does not excite hostile prejudices or give, to some groups, legitimate anxieties about their livelihoods. It is in Parliament that the reformer's zeal meets its enemies and critics, and the patient engineering has to be performed which will produce as much reform as can be made acceptable to the public opinion of the day. This is a laborious process, and the reformer, exasperated by the complexities of Parliamentary procedure, projects upon Parliament the resentment he rightly feels against those who, for more or less creditable reasons, oppose his reform.

There is a further reason why publicists, whether of press, radio or television, resent Parliament. People in this position like to feel that they sway opinion, and, through opinion, the course of events. *'The Times'*, wrote Bagehot 'has unmade many Ministries'. Would he say so today? It is naturally vexatious to those who thus seek to influence affairs to find that what really happens will in the end be determined at Westminster, and that the individual M.P., though concerned about press comment, is quite prepared to resist it.

Events in the present and the last Parliament have made it plain enough where lies the final repository of power. If, as now seems well-nigh certain, Britain enters the E.E.C., it will be because on October 28, 1971, and subsequent occasions, individual M.P.s weighed the matter up and cast their votes this way or that according to their judgment, the majority being in favour. In the last Parliament, the British Government was under great pressure from many quarters, with very different motives, to prevent the Nigerian Government from buying arms in Britain to combat Ojukwu's rebellion. The matter was often debated in Parliament, and the argument cut across parties, but on every occasion Parliament supported the Government's policy. Without that support the policy could not have been continued; equipped with that support the Government could resist its critics. Conversely, the failure of the Labour Government to pass its Industrial Relations Bill and its plan for reform of the House of Lords was

due to lack of Parliamentary support. The Conservative Opposition refused to support either of these measures, and the defection of a number of Labour M.P.s was sufficient to ensure their defeat.

It would be absurd to suggest that outside influences have no effect. The original proposal in the London Government Act to cut the London County Council's education services into twelve pieces was defeated by a combination of party opposition and an uprising of London parents. The essential point, however, is that all propaganda—meetings, press articles, television programmes—fails of its purpose unless it can influence votes in the House of Commons. Perhaps one should add, Commons or Lords; for it was the Lords, acting in one of the few fields where their powers are still comparable to those of the Commons, who prevented the establishment of the international airport at Stansted.

The critic may reply that all this is but a truism. Admitted that we are ruled by the law, and that the consent of M.P.s is necessary to the making of law: but are they in fact free to give or withhold their consent, or are they the creatures of someone or something else? The Royal Assent is necessary to the making of a law; but the monarch is not free to give or refuse it at will. Is the power of Parliament no more than this? This seems to be Richard Crossman's argument. He takes the distinction which Bagehot drew between the 'dignified' parts of government (e.g. the Crown) and the parts which really did the work; following-up this distinction, Crossman argues that Parliament is now no more than one of the 'dignified' parts of the apparatus.

If this argument is sound, it must mean that M.P.s are either subject to outside constraints which they cannot resist, or that they lack the will or the knowledge to make decisions of their own. Who, if this be true, does decide? We have to examine the various answers given to this question.

Shaw found the answer in Big Business. 'I am the government of your country', says the armaments manufacturer, Undershaft, in *Major Barbara.* Time has put this contention on the shelf. It is true that leading industrialists, and Trade Union leaders, influence governments. Yet compare any statement of aspirations by the C.B.I. or by the T.U.C. with what actually happens and it will be apparent that a third, and independent, force is at work; and this force is Parliament, knowing that it has to answer to the whole people and judging for itself how the gratification of sectional interests can be accommodated to the general welfare and the state of public opinion. If 'Big Business' really had its way, the Welfare State would become a wraith, and Ian Smith's Rhodesia would have approved at once, before even Sir Alec Douglas-Home could have enunciated his Five Principles for a settlement. Powerful groupings will always press their claims; but it does not lie with them to decide how much of their own way they will get.

Can this contention be maintained in the light of the recent victory—for it would be mealy-mouthed to call it anything else—by the National Union of Mineworkers? I believe it can. At first, the Government was

resolved on a straightforward confrontation with the N.U.M.: but they were careful not to embroil Parliament. On those occasions when the matter was raised in the House it was apparent that one side was entirely opposed to the Government and that many of the other side were deeply unhappy. In face of this situation, the Government appointed Lord Wilberforce and, with his help, extricated themselves from an impossible situation. The miners won because a decisive majority of the community thought they were right; and this feeling reflected itself in Parliament. If on some future occasion a trade union or professional organisation, or group of business men, chose to assert a sectional interest, they could not hope for victory unless they could be certain of the same degree of public and Parliamentary support as the miners enjoyed on this occasion. A Government which can rely on Parliament to provide it with all the necessary powers to meet an emergency can stand and resist; without that support it must come to terms.

A more recent answer is that the Government, with the help of the Whips, really bosses Parliament and that the individual M.P. must toe the Party line. Most of the time he does vote for the Party line, but this is because most of the time he believes in it. The test will be, how does he behave on the few occasions when he does not? The answer, from experience, appears to be that on very great matters he will use his own judgment, as many M.P.s on both sides have done over entry into Europe: on lesser matters he will usually agree with the Whips that he ought not to endanger the survival of a Government with which, in general, he agrees. The late Sir Beverley Baxter, a Conservative M.P. strongly opposed to commercial television, was reproached for being about to vote in favour of it at the request of the Whips. He replied, straightforwardly, 'I think commercial television is bad; I think a Labour Government would be worse'.

This reply illustrates the power of the Government to present its supporters with a package-deal of policy. The Government must take care that the package as a whole is attractive to a majority of the Commons: this is the tribute the Government must pay to Parliament's supremacy. The M.P. must, with a few exceptions, take or reject the package as a whole; that is the tribute Parliament must pay to the Government's leadership.

At this point we must examine more closely what kind of creature is this Parliament whose power we are discussing. Unlike the Congress of the U.S.A. it is not merely a legislature. It is the body which contains the members of the Government, the body from which members of the Government are drawn and the body which can, in the last resort, sack the Government. The pivot of our constitution is the nexus of the Government and its supporters in Parliament. If this tie is seriously weakened the Government is in peril and a General Election is at hand, so that the nexus can be re-created. This is why the lawyers tell us that we should not say 'Parliament' but 'the Queen in Parliament',—that is to say the executive working in, through and with the ultimate consent of the legislature. The Government and its supporters are different persons, but must be thought

of as composing a whole. As Saint Athanasius might have put it, we must think rightly of this matter, neither confusing the persons nor dividing the substance. If we can think thus, we see that Parliament, rightly interpreted as the Queen in Parliament, is the effective sovereign.

A more sophisticated contention is that although M.P.s try hard they cannot have, in our complex society, the necessary knowledge to form independent judgment. Richard Crossman supports this with the striking statement that the senior members of the Attlee Government concealed from the Cabinet as a whole and from Parliament the fact that they had authorised the construction of atom bombs. It is a statement that has often been made, and it is entirely untrue. This decision was recorded in Cabinet minutes and made known to Parliament in answer to a question. It is surprising that it did not evoke comment at the time; but the charge of concealment will not stand. The fact is that M.P.s are deluged with information—books blue and red, papers white and green; their real problem is to find their way through it. The M.P. finds that he can only do this by specialising in a few subjects and has to give time to reading about them rather than listening to debates on other, perhaps more exciting, topics. This is why, except on great occasions, debates in the House are becoming more well-informed and less well attended.

The limited staff of the Commons library do their valiant best to help M.P.s amid the jungle of documents; but there is still need for a real Parliamentary research staff at the service of all M.P.s.

There remains a cruder attack on Parliament. This is to say that the Members are, in the main, second-raters; that powerful Trade Unions and businesses will want people in the House to express their views, but do not wish to spare their ablest people for this purpose; and that the resultant assembly can easily be dominated by the few people of real ability who are there. It is difficult for someone who is himself a Member to give an impartial account of the qualities of himself and his colleagues, but some comments may be made in answer to this charge. The first thing that those who make this charge should do is to read Hansard—all the more necessary since press reports of debates are, in comparison with the past, skimpy. They will find the occasional episodes of rowdyism and obstruction, but beyond that they will find a high level of informed argument. Nor should the rowdyism and obstruction be set wholly on the debit side of the ledger. Parliament is not a debating society: it can determine what will happen about issues on which people are deeply and sincerely divided: an assembly which did this in an atmosphere of unbroken decorum would not be human. We find, moreover, from the lists of applicants to local party organisations, that there is no lack of able people of all kinds who want to get into Parliament. Indeed, some of our critics in the press are people who have tried to get in, and failed. One recalls, from *The Importance of Being Earnest*, Lady Bracknell's rebuke to her nephew 'Never speak slightingly of society, Algernon, only people who cannot get into it do that'.

Will this sovereignty of Parliament be swept away by entry to the E.E.C.? Surely not. A future British Government could if it wished and had the

support of Parliament, announce its withdrawal from the Community—unwise as that would be. The final word, then, lies at Westminster. Meanwhile, it is true, Parliament will be creating an important form of 'subordinate legislation'—the decisions of the Community, to which force will be given in Britain by virtue of a British statute. Parliament has often done this kind of thing—it has, as it were, leased out its sovereignty to Ministers, corporations, etc.; but it has always—to change the metaphor—kept one end of the rope in its own hand. This time the rope is longer and the lease of power greater than before; but the end of the rope remains where it was. It may well be that in time no member of the E.E.C. will want to think of leaving, any more than we should wish, by Act of Parliament, to re-create the Heptarchy in England. The fact that we do not do so is not a limitation of sovereignty; it is a recognition of reality.

The European debates have thrown light on the relationship of the M.P. to his party, and help us to assess the claim that Parliament is a sham because M.P.s are the creatures of the party machine. There are, of course, some in whose eyes the M.P. is always wrong: if he follows the party line he is a stooge, if he deserts it he is disloyal: if he does what most of his constituents would like him to do, he is a vote-catcher; if he disagrees with them he is arrogant. A study of the relation between M.P.s and their local parties and constituents over the European question may help us to a more balanced judgment. An M.P. will normally want to be in agreement with those who have in the past voted for him, and those who have worked to get him into Parliament, because they are people with whom he has a mutual relationship of trust and affection; what has been demonstrated recently is that this relationship will, in most instances, stand the strain of a particular disagreement. An M.P. wants to give loyal service to his party; he is not prepared to be enslaved to it.

The ancient structure of Queen-in-Parliament remains. It is surrounded like a mediaeval King by his barons, by their modern equivalent—industrialists, trade unions, press, etc. It cannot govern in disregard of them, but it is more successful than many mediaeval Kings in remaining the final arbiter of what can and ought to be done. Into this ancient structure a democratic electorate and the political parties have injected the modern idea of popular sovereignty—not in the sense that the people give month-to-month instructions, but that the people in the end decide who shall be Members of Parliament. In speech and writing one can distinguish Government, Parliament and People: one cannot understand what is happening unless one perceives them as a whole, acting and re-acting on each other. In this complex, it is Parliament's position as the central link which gives it its importance and explains its survival.

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# THE IMMIGRATION ACT, 1971

## by D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

IMMIGRATION, the voluntary movement of substantial numbers of people from one country to another with a more or less permanent change of domicile, has always raised thorny and delicate problems, as the long and sad history of the Jewish 'dispersal' over Eastern Europe reminds us; and the immigration problems of Britain today are, to say the least, unhappy. This immigration, consisting mainly of coloured people from Commonwealth countries, carries with it the risk—or rather the certainty—of increasing racialist antagonism, stimulated both by some who believe they can thereby advance the electoral prospects of a political party, and by others who believe that by sowing hatred between the white and coloured sections of the working class they can weaken that class as a whole in its contests with employers—*divide et impera.* Racialism can spread as swiftly as a forest fire, and do as much damage, and is perhaps even more dangerous in Britain than in most countries, not because we are worse than other people but because our long colonial history has given many of us a 'superiority complex', based on a convenient but baseless belief that coloured people are inherently inferior to white and can accordingly be treated worse.

On that background, I come to examine the legal and human position of coloured immigration to Britain, and especially the new Immigration Act, 1971, passed on the 28th October, 1971. I must begin with some brief statistics, and some study of the earlier immigration legislation which has been superseded by the new Act.

Statistically, coloured immigrants are a much smaller percentage of the population than is commonly supposed. In a sense, percentages do not matter, for the view that harassment and oppression do not matter if they only affect a few people is not tenable; but it is as well to have the facts, especially when agitation is being worked up in some quarters—it is plainly present in the Act—against immigrants as a whole. The coloured immigrant population of the country, including children born here, is only about two per cent of the total population. It is estimated that by the year 2000 the two per cent may have risen to four per cent, but much of course depends on how stringent the legislative *and administrative* control of entry may be in this and the next two decades. In the face of not too scrupulous propaganda to the effect that we are being 'flooded' by coloured immigrants, I may mention that the total 'white' immigration (from Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Western Europe) is half as large again as the coloured immigration, and that the annual *emigration* from Britain is larger that the total annual immigration, white and coloured.

Immigration as a serious phenomenon is of relatively recent origin; the first Commonwealth Immigrants Act was passed as late as 1962. The main stream developed only in the 'fifties, and then rather slowly. Apart from

some valuable professional people, principally doctors, who were at first and Asia. The industries into which most of the immigrants enter are not only a small proportion but at present, with the increasing legal restrictions on the admission of the general body of immigrants, constitute nearly half the admissions, the immigrants consist largely of unskilled or semi-skilled workers and their families. They have been and still are of great help to the economy in that they reinforce the ranks of workers in various trades and industries essential to the life of the community, but not too well-paid. Without their help, our railways and other public transport, and our hospital services, could not continue; and in the medical profession about half the junior doctors are today immigrants, coming mostly from Africa backward, and are well organised in trade unions, and the immigrants have proved to be good workers and good trade unionists.

The legislation began, as I have said, in 1962; under the Act of that year citizens of Commonwealth countries who had hitherto been able to enter this country freely and to take up employment, were no longer permitted to come here to work unless they first obtained a 'work voucher' from the British government; it was typical 'disguised racialism', in that, whilst on the face of it both white and coloured immigrants needed vouchers, the government could give or withhold vouchers as it thought fit; and in practice white immigrants obtained them pretty easily while coloured immigrants met with much greater difficulty. When the Act was going through the House of Commons, the Labour Opposition rightly attacked it as racialist, and promised to repeal it when it came into power. In fact, when it took office in 1964, it did not do so, but on the contrary, by its 1965 White Paper, initiated an even more restrictive policy on the issue of vouchers. This Act led to a sharp fall in the numbers of coloured immigrants coming here to work.

The next Commonwealth Immigrants Act, that of 1968, was a startling new development for the worse. The immediate pretext or reason for passing the Act, and for passing it with almost panic haste, was the particular problem of the 'Kenya Asians'; this label covers people of Indian or Pakistani origin, resident in Kenya. Many of them had not adopted Kenyan nationality when Kenya became independent, but had remained British subjects, (as all Indians and Pakistanis had been before their independence); and after a time they found themselves in great and growing difficulty when the Kenya government, in the service of its policy of Africanisation, began refusing to grant or renew their work permits, and threatened to expel them from Kenya. They had no right to go to India or Pakistan, as they were not citizens, but they had a right to go to the country of their citizenship, namely Britain. Indeed, when Kenya became independent, the British government had expressly provided that Kenya Asians who did not choose to become citizens of Kenya could claim their British citizenship and receive British passports. In the light of international law, common sense, and common humanity, they were entitled to come to Britain, their own country. By the time the Bill, which became the 1968 Act, was introduced, the position in Kenya was acute enough to make it

clear that large numbers of Kenya Asians, British citizens with British passports, were likely to come to Britain in the near future. The Government here listened to the clamour raised by racialists, and hastily introduced and passed the Act, which provided that holders of British passports resident abroad could only enter Britain with a view to settle here if they, or at least one of their parents or grandparents, were born in the United Kingdom; this was another instance of disguised racialism, since nearly all white holders of British passports could fulfil the conditions, while perhaps only one or two in a thousand coloured holders could do so.

This Act was a gross breach of faith, of international law and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and was altogether a retrograde and reprehensible step. It led to great unhappiness, and to distressing cases of people living for weeks in aeroplanes, since Britain refused to accept them, and neither Kenya nor any other country had any duty to receive them.

Apart from the Race Relations Acts and a small but important Act dealing with Appeals, there was no further legislation dealing particularly with Immigration until 1971, when the present government enacted the cruel and drastic Immigration Act, 1971 (passed, ironically enough, in the 'International Year of struggle against Racism and racial discrimination').

The Act repeals the Acts of 1962 and 1968, and indeed replaces all previous Acts dealing with the entry into this country of Commonwealth citizens or of aliens. The Bill as introduced was 53 pages long, and the Act in its final form is 63 pages long. It was amended to a greater extent than usual in the course of its journeys through both the House of Commons and the House of Lords; in some respects, but by no means all, the amendments have made the Act less abominable, but it is in principle as bad as it ever was. One can begin by protesting at its near-incomprehensibility. It certainly had a number of complicated problems to face in its task of carrying out the evil principles which inspired it; but even when one has made all allowances it remains almost as great an offence against the English language and against all reasonable efforts to discover what Parliament intends as the average Revenue statute.

Let us consider what the Act, when one manages to understand it, provides. Adopting for different and wider objects one feature of the Act of 1968—the advantage given to those who could claim a parent or grandparent born in the United Kingdom—the Bill as introduced divided those seeking entry into two classes. The first class, which it calls 'patrials', were those who, or one of whose parents or grandparents, were born in the United Kingdom; and the second is all other persons. This is obviously almost equal to saying: 'Whites to the right, others to the left'. In the course of its passage through Parliament 'parents or grandparents' has been amended to read 'parents', thus making it even a little more difficult to be a 'patrial'.

By the Act, 'patrials', who were previously subject to the controls laid down in the 1962 Act, however lightly those controls may have been applied in practice to whites, are freed by the Act from all control, and

the rest, if they seek to come here to work, are treated as aliens. Many of the provisions of the Act derive from the earlier alien immigration law, which was extremely illiberal, having been enacted in panic at the beginning of the First World War, and prolonged after the end of that war not at first as permanent legislation but by way of annual renewal (normally a sign that Parliament is a bit ashamed of its work and wants to have it regarded as merely temporary).

The non-patrial immigrant seeking to work here can enter the country only if an employer here wants him for a defined job, and applies for leave for him to enter for the purpose of doing that job. If the man succeeds in coming in in that way, the permission is good for only twelve months; if he wishes to remain after that period, he can only do so if the employer states that he wants him, and if the government then gives him leave to remain. He is in effect compelled to live in the one particular neighbourhood where he is given work, and he cannot, without express permission, change to another place or another employer.

If he succeeds in staying here lawfully for five years, he may apply to be registered as a 'citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies', and his application *may* be granted *if* he is of good character, has sufficient knowledge of English, and intends to reside here. This forms a striking contrast to the position under the previous legislation, under which a Commonwealth immigrant had a right to be so registered at the end of the five years. Now, the application may be rejected without even a reason being given. 'Good character' is not defined, and to many people in authority good trade union activity may be the reverse of 'good character'. The failure to give definitions, and the extensive field of discretion given to the government to decide matters vital to the lives of these Commonwealth citizens, form a particularly sinister feature of the legislation. One highly objectionable example of this is to be found in a provision, never previously applied to Commonwealth citizens, which gives the Home Secretary an overriding power to expel any of them at any time if he considers—at, of course, his own uncontrolled discretion, and without giving reasons—that their continued presence here is 'not conducive to the public good'. This particular restriction is rendered still worse by the operation of another objectionable provision that, when any immigrant is expelled, members of his family may be expelled with him, although there is no objection to them personally. Thus a boy of good character, perhaps seventeen years old, who has been in this country almost all his life, might be deported against his will, for no personal reason, because a man said to be his father is expelled.

The Act thus makes every new immigrant a second-class citizen, not unlike a South African black under the pass laws, and with little more security. He will be tied to his employer like a serf, unable to seek a better job, and in some peril at all times of expulsion under one power or another if he offends his employer, or takes part in industrial action. He will never be even tolerably certain of staying in the country for more than twelve months (or what is left of twelve months), and cannot thus get a hire-

purchase agreement, let alone a mortgage.

Commonwealth immigrants already here are not directly affected by the Act in respect of their right to remain, but the right given by the Act to the police to *arrest* anyone whom they suspect of being illegally here virtually compels every coloured worker, however long he has been here, to guard against trouble by carrying with him some document to show his status, like a South African black.

It is an added horror that the government has passed this Act at a time when it intends taking the country into the Common Market; if it succeeds in doing this, it will put the Commonwealth immigrant in a still more anomalous position, for whilst he will remain subject to all the restrictions and disadvantages of the Act, aliens who are citizens of Common Market countries will be free to enter Britain without work permits and to take any job they like anywhere, to remain in it for at any rate five years, and to change jobs whenever it suits them.

I should mention in conclusion the Race Relations Acts of 1965 and 1968, although they are not designed either to restrict or to encourage immigration, but only to counter attempts to discriminate against immigrants in various fields of life when they are already here. The need for such legislation illustrates vividly the atmosphere of hostility which racialists have already created. As immigration gradually developed in the 'fifties and 'sixties, many complaints were raised of discrimination against coloured immigrants by landlords of houses and their agents, by managers of public houses and clubs, by employers, and by civil servants, including especially immigration officers. Demands arose for legislation, and although this is a field of life in which it is not very simple to legislate usefully and without grave side effects, it was and is clear that legislation is practicable and can be effective. The legislation actually passed has been timid and limited, but it has been of some substantial value in its operation under the Race Relations Board established by the Act of 1965.

# GROWTH, OR SURVIVAL?

## by Patrick N. Edmunds

THE fifty-two doctors who are campaigning for Government recognition of the problem of overpopulation in Britain have described it as 'a British disease'.[1]

The reaction of many people to this would be to say: 'but surely our population growth rate is one of the lowest in the world?'. There are two answers to this. The first is that England is far more densely populated than most of the countries with high growth rates. Thus China, which is generally recognised to be overpopulated, has a growth rate (2 per cent per annum) four times as high as England's (0.5 per cent) but her population density is only one quarter of England's. In terms of annual increase per square mile, we are as badly off as China, and much worse off in terms of present overcrowding. The second answer is that the question reveals the extent to which we have come to accept growth as a permanent feature of our society.

How often do we see graphs in business and financial articles showing how growth *rates* (*not* total volume) have increased or declined. Any tendency to stability is branded as 'stagnation' and an actual reduction in throughput is regarded as a disaster. This obsession with growth colours our thinking about population also. Remember the outcry in the 1930s when for a brief spell population replacement fell to slightly below unity? This was a temporary phenomenon due to the slump but it caused so much alarm that books were written on the dangers of racial extinction, ludicrous though that seems now.

The fact is that Britain is already overcrowded. Evidence for this is seen in social unrest, exponentially rising city crime rates, pollution and the inevitability of exhaustion of finite resources such as metals and oil within a few decades. These indicate that we have already reached a population level which is incapable of indefinite maintenance except at drastically reduced living standards—and that without any further increase in numbers. Add that, and our outlook is bleak indeed.

One of the things which cannot be indefinitely maintained is our present method of feeding ourselves. In spite of the temporary respite granted by the 'Green Revolution', vast famines are inevitable in the underdeveloped countries within the next decade or two. These will have their repercussions in making our food imports scarcer and more expensive. Our farming is already too intensive for indefinite maintenance, and our soil is steadily deteriorating due to excessive use of chemical fertilisers. We are in fact living off our soil capital. When it is no longer possible to import 50 per cent of our food cheaply as we do now, we shall be in real trouble. Factory farming will collapse, as it depends on vast imports of grain and meat meal. The use of fertilisers will have to be stepped up even further and this will aggravate pollution by run-off into lakes and rivers as well as probably precipitating the final collapse of our overworked soil.

In January of this year, the magazine *Ecologist* published an important document entitled *Blueprint for Survival*,[2] endorsed by 33 British scientists, including Sir Julian Huxley, Sir Frank Fraser Darling and Dr. John A. Loraine. This study warns of inevitable disaster if present growth trends are continued. On the international scale, there is soon to be published a study entitled *The Limits to Growth*[3] by a group of 70 leading scientists, economists and industrialists, who have joined together in the Club of Rome. The authors include the former Olivetti chief, the president of the Japan Federation of Economic Organisations and the director-general for scientific affairs of the Office for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Using a computer at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), they found that the depletion of non-renewable resources would probably bring about a disastrous fall in population through lack of health services and food in another 70 or 80 years. No matter how optimistic the postulates fed into the computer about alternative sources of energy and materials, or reduction of pollution by improved technology, the conclusion came out the same: — 'All growth projections end in collapse'.

To a bacteriologist like myself, there is nothing strange about this. In the laboratory one daily inoculates small numbers of bacteria on to culture media and watches them grow over 24-48 hours. During their brief period of exponential (compound interest) growth, lasting perhaps 40 generations, a single bacterium dividing by binary fission will reach a population of 1 to 10 thousand million. They then begin to drown in their own toxic wastes and their growth rate slows and stops, followed by progressive death of the colony. The human race is in a period of exponential growth, the world's population doubling every 35 years or so. We shall soon reach the point on the graph where growth must stop and go into reverse. The only question is whether this is effected by famine, pestilence, pollution, war or stress on the one hand, or on the other hand in an orderly and humane manner by restricting births to the level needed for replacement and gradual decline in population, with eventual stabilisation at a much lower level.

Both the *Blueprint* and the MIT study are agreed that growth must cease, both of population and industry, if eventual disaster is to be averted. The *Blueprint* however goes much farther. In addition to stating the problem, it outlines measures for dealing with it. This document may well prove comparable in significance to Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, though of course it has nothing to do with Communism, quite the reverse. Lewis Chester, writing in the *Sunday Times* has described it as ' . . . mind-blowing. After reading it, nothing seems quite the same any more'.

Before going on to describe the main *Blueprint* recommendations let us consider in more detail what may happen if we do nothing.

I have mentioned famine, disease, pollution, war and stress. Which is most likely to be the deciding factor?

Malthus proposed in 1798 in his Essay on Population that food supplies would be the limiting factor. While populations grew by compound interest (geometric growth), food supplies could only increase by simple

interest (additive growth), since the amount of soil was fixed and only productivity would rise. The population would therefore grow until it overtook its food supply and would then reach a limit.

Some people, including some Roman Catholic spokesmen, claim that events have shown Malthus to be wrong. They point to the advent of intensive farming and the 'Green Revolution' by which new strains of rice and wheat may give yields up to 10-fold greater by the heavy use of chemical fertilisers. Certainly populations have risen far above what Malthus would have considered possible.

Viewed on the time scale of man's civilised existence on this planet, however, the postponement we have seen of the effect of food-limitation is likely to be for quite an insignificant period—perhaps only a few decades. Malthusian logic is already proving correct in some areas and will shortly be more tragically proved by the famines I mentioned earlier.

Food supplies then will certainly be the main limiting factor in the underdeveloped countries. What of overdeveloped countries like Britain and the U.S.A.? Here technological postponement of Malthusian limits may mean that disease, pollution, war or stress may become the limiting factor.

We are not so secure against epidemic disease as we may think. 'Flu' has not yet been conquered. A fresh highly virulent mutant of the virus could sweep an overcrowded world via the airlines before a vaccine could be produced against it. Other viruses could appear, possibly bred in those forcing houses of disease, the factory farm sheds in which millions of unfortunate animals are packed in close proximity to centres of human population.

Even bacteria could resume again their role among the 'captains of the men of death'. Plague and cholera have been vanquished in developed countries, but supposing some form of virulent enteric organism became resistant to antibiotics through the use of these drugs in factory-farmed animals? Food-poisoning already occurs on a large scale in Britain, some of it traceable to factory broiler chickens and intensively reared pigs. Many cases are not even notified and presumably come from the same source. It would only require the appearance of more virulent strains of the food-poisoning organisms known as Salmonellae to cause a major crisis. Thus, we cannot rule out pestilence as a regulating factor.

Much publicity was recently given to the tragedy at Minimata Bay in Japan, where hundreds of people were seriously or fatally affected by mercury poisoning in the sea, originating from a paper factory. Cadmium and lead poisoning have also caused outbreaks of fatal and painful disease. Many other diseases occur from exposure to toxic chemicals in factories.

Some think it probable that large numbers of people are already suffering chronic debilitation from air- food- or water-borne chemicals whose interaction is unknown but probably harmful. Perhaps some of the urban disorder, crime and drug abuse may be partly caused by this?

A small minority of experts claim that pollution can be dealt with without

stopping growth in either industry or population. They claim that by for example changing over from detergents to soap, using petrol without lead additives and stopping the use of fattening yards to get cattle ready for market (which wastes food and manure as well as polluting surrounding water supplies) we can ignore population and industrial growth. Both the *Blueprint* and the MIT study find that this is wrong and that it is no use concentrating on pollution control as long as growth is allowed to continue. The *Blueprint* points out that pollution is proportional to industrial activity, other things being equal. If pollution is reduced by 80 per cent, a 3 per cent annual growth rate will in 52 years bring back the original amount of pollution. If the growth rate is 6 per cent per annum it will take only 26 years to be back to square one.

There is the problem too of different sorts of pollution and stress caused by the same activity. Take cars and lorries, for example. It is hoped soon to produce vehicles with greatly reduced exhaust pollution. This will encourage the continued growth in the vehicle population. What about congestion and the terrible toll of road accidents? Will they be allowed to continue unchecked? What about noise pollution from road transport? This is already intolerable in many places and will have to be stopped sooner or later.

War is the next regulating factor to be considered. War could come through a clash of neighbouring countries over population movements. We have recently had two examples of this, both fortunately short-lived. In 1969, overpopulation of the Central American state of El Salvador, with its resultant unemployment, caused a large movement of people into neighbouring Honduras. In El Salvador the population density per square mile of arable land was 782 persons while in Honduras it was only 155 persons. Friction between the immigrants and the Honduran natives soon developed into war, ended by the intervention of the Organisation of American States.

A major factor in the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 was the movement of 10 million refugees from East Pakistan into India. Only by invading East Pakistan and defeating West Pakistan forces could India enable these refugees to return home.

As raw materials such as oil become scarcer, fighting could also develop over access to these.

Conventional wars nowadays, though terrible, do not seem to kill sufficient people to balance the population. Thus the Vietnam war did not kill as many Americans as were killed in road accidents over the same period. The two or three million people killed in East Pakistan will be made up in the natural increase of only a year or two. On the other hand nuclear war might wipe us out in hundreds of millions. Its possibility will be rendered greater by the proliferation of nuclear power-plants which produce plutonium. This could be used to make atomic bombs. Note that the use of atomic power is only made necessary by the fantastically wasteful plundering of oil resources going on now.

Finally, sheer stress over the difficulties and frustration inseparable from

overpopulation will take its toll. Indeed the stress diseases are with us now; peptic ulcer, asthma and ulcerative colitis are all aggravated by stress if not actually caused by it. Suicide attempts are on the increase. If animals are anything to go by, unexplained death and suicide could result from overpopulation even when uncomplicated by other factors. Thus the herd of reindeer on the Pribilof Islands off Alaska, after building up from 25 in 1911 to over 2,000 in 1938, suffered a disastrous decline to only eight by 1950, without any obvious pathology to account for it. A type of North American hare suffers periodic mass death from unknown causes when the population gets too great. The suicide of lemmings every few years is well-known. Thousands rush into the water and are drowned, even though there is no food shortage.

These then are some of the unpleasant and messy ways which nature will use to cut us down to size if we allow things to go on as at present!

What can we do? *Blueprint for Survival* (1972) suggests the following measures:

(1) Establishment of a national population service, with free contraception, male sterilisation (vasectomy) and abortion, with the eventual goal of reducing Britain's population from its present 56 million to no more than 30 million (probably less). This would take 150-200 years and so would be gradual enough to avoid disruption.

(2) Introduction of taxes on raw materials and power. This would encourage re-cycling of metals, paper, etc., and discourage the present plundering of earth's resources, which has been described as 'grand larceny against the future'. Water would be supplied free up to a certain amount but charged for above this amount. This would prevent the present colossal waste of water in the home and in industry. At present water authorities have no choice but to keep expanding their supplies to meet demand. This results in the flooding of more and more valleys and destruction of farms and land. Every reservoir is a potential source of final dereliction, as its life is limited and it eventually becomes a choked-up bog.

(3) Taxes on short-lived articles would be imposed, known as amortisation taxes. These would be heaviest for disposables and become smaller the longer the life of the article up to 100 years, when it would be nil.

(4) Anti-pollution legislation would ensure that the polluter pays for preventing or cleaning up his own pollution. Any industry not able or willing to do this would be taxed out of existence.

(5) The building of motorways would cease. A motorway uses four times as much energy outlay for cement and steel as a railway. It uses four times as much land. The power requirements for transporting freight by road are five to six times greater than by rail and the pollution resulting is correspondingly higher. Disused railway lines and canals would therefore be restored, using labour freed from high-energy industries which have closed down.

(6) Intensive farming would be stopped and farming would be based on

ecological principles, with return of animal and human wastes to the soil. Pesticides would be gradually cut down and eventually replaced by specific biological controls aimed at single species of pests.

(7) Decentralisation of government would be brought about, to enable small communities to thrive. In addition to preventing over-use of energy in transport and allowing the distribution of human and animal wastes on to the surrounding land, this would reduce our appalling and growing city crime figures to the low levels characteristic of small settled communities. This would reduce the need for policing and provide a freer and less frustrating environment.

This programme is a revolutionary one which turns completely upside down all presently accepted tenets of economics. Politicians and trade unionists alike must hold up their hands in horror at the deliberate run-down of industry which is apparently advocated. Governments will fear for our exports and balance of payments, trade unionists for a lowering of wages and unemployment. When one listens to Mr. Heath and Mr. Feather talking about the absolute necessity for a 'healthy' growth in the economy, one realises that either this *Blueprint* is crazy, or these spokesmen are completely out of touch with reality.

There is a third possibility, which one begins to suspect more and more; that neither government nor trade union leadership really believes any more in what it is doing, but is going through the motions, propelled by the puppet-strings of short-term political necessities, knowing deep down that it is all only temporary.

The present high unemployment level may pave the way for change. It may be that this is a permanent feature of an economy geared to increasingly capital-intensive industry. The introduction of a power tax as advocated in the *Blueprint* would create a trend towards labour-intensive systems of working, thereby counteracting the effect on employment of the lowered consumption or throughput characteristic of the society projected in *Blueprint*. Service industry would be encouraged and the standard of work raised to craftsmanship level.

There is an increasing realisation among economists that the whole concept of a high gross national product (GNP) which measures throughput is a fallacy. Under the present system of accounting, the expense incurred in treating someone for chronic bronchitis or cancer caused by pollution, or injuries caused by traffic, is included in the GNP, as is the cost of cleaning up pollution itself. The higher the GNP, the greater the pollution and traffic and the more money is spent in treating their victims. This in turn raises the GNP.

The term GNP has therefore become meaningless and it should no longer be considered desirable to raise it to a high level. In fact it may well be in future that the higher a nation's GNP, the lower the real standard of living. This depends more on the stock of goods owned and on standards of service than on the throughput. One really well-made car lasting 30 years is better than three shoddy cars lasting a troublesome 10 years each, especially with more efficient servicing thrown in.

In conclusion I should like to ask a simple question. Which is better, our present system which gives short-term benefits bought at the price of future misery and destruction, or the *Blueprint* system which is sound solid sense in the long term and provides the only real hope yet held out for our children and their descendants?

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1 Anderson, J. A. D., *et al.* (1972), Brit. Med. J., **i**, 108.
2 *A Blueprint for Survival.* The Ecologist (1972) **2**, 1.
3 *The Limits to Growth,* 1972. Potomac Associates, Washington, U.S.A. (in press).

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The May number of the *Contemporary Review* includes: *Which Way for the Middle-East?* by Andrew Faulds, M.P, *A Social History of the Use of Cannabis Sativa* by L. Hindmarch, *The Legal Straitjacket for the Church of England* by Leslie Paul, *The Irish Problem: A New Approach* by Sir Frederic Bennett, M.P. and *Some Aspects of Turkish Culture* by Feyyaz Fergar.

# VASECTOMY

## by Caroline Deys

THE newest and most fashionable contraceptive method is male sterilisation or Vasectomy. Many people unfortunately confuse this with castration (removal of the testes). Vasectomy is *not* castration. It is a simple operation to prevent sperm or male seed being shed, akin to the operation of female sterilisation. It requires one or two small cuts half an inch long in the scrotum. Only the *Vas deferens* is cut—that is the very long tube carrying sperm from the testes to join the fluid produced by the prostate and seminal vesicles. The testicular artery, the main supply of blood to the testes, is untouched, and the nerves supplying the region are unharmed. Since normal man re-absorbs a proportion of the millions of sperm he makes, he continues to make sperm after vasectomy, but simply re-absorbs all of them. Ejaculation is absolutely normal, hormonal control is absolutely normal and the only real problem is the long time it takes to clear the upper half of the two tubes of sperm, a process which may take up to six months. The whole operation under a local anaesthetic takes about 7 minutes.

Many people, unless in a heavy job, go back to work the same or the next day and suffer only the same sort of discomfort they would get after a kick in that region. It is a cheap operation to perform as it is easily learned by non-specialists and does not need a general anaesthetic or a hospital bed. Most clinics charge about £15 for the operation, discussion beforehand with a doctor and the sperm tests—less than £1 a year if the operation is done when the man is in his early thirties, assuming his wife reaches the menopause at 50. Under a general anaesthetic, done privately, charges are anything from £30 to £100 and a night in hospital is usually recommended, costing £8-£10. Most clinics will allow the patient to pay by instalments or even waive the fee if necessary.

It is most important to remember that the man is not sterile for many weeks after the operation and so it is essential that other methods of birth control are used until two samples of semen show no sperm when looked at under a microscope. Sexual abstinence is not satisfactory as the semen from the upper part of the tubes must be cleared. Most men are ready for sex again within a couple of days.

About 1 in 40 men are unlucky and need several days or even a week or two off work, but serious long term effects are almost non-existent Pain after the operation can be troublesome—one of my patients said he felt as if he had been kicked by a mule—but is not persistent. Vasectomy is rather like having a tooth out, in that in certain cases there can be unwanted bleeding or infection at the site of the operation. Because the skin of the scrotum is very loose, even very slow bleeding from a small vessel can lead to the accumulation of a large amount of blood. Bruising of the scrotum is common after the operation and will slowly go away. If some

blood escapes over several hours there will be a lump which may be anything in size from a pea to something the size of a grapefruit. The treatment is just to wait and the lump will disappear. Mild infection is unusual and responds quickly to antibiotics. Problems are more likely to arise when a man has had a previous operation in that region such as a hernia, or has varicose veins in the scrotum, and in these cases the surgeon may ask for a general anaesthetic, though most cases can be dealt with easily under local.

The advantages of vasectomy are its safety both as a contraceptive and as regards general health. It is trouble free once performed and allows complete spontaneity for both partners. It is cheap when the cost is averaged out over the years. It is something a man can do, and the majority of men feel that birth control is their responsibility.

Disadvantages are that its use is limited to those who have completed their families. It is probably reversible in many cases but it is not a feasible or certain operation so it must be regarded as irreversible.

In theory vasectomy is available under the NHS where there are medical reasons for its use. This is very variously interpreted but probably can be done in most areas if a further pregnancy would endanger a wife's health, and if she herself is not fit for sterilisation. However, the waiting list at one hospital I know is two years. The Marie Stopes Clinic has a scheme whereby the operation is done completely free where a man is specially referred by his GP, hospital, local authority doctor, midwife or health visitor.

Unfortunately, like all fashions, both the advantages and disadvantages of the method have been vastly exaggerated. All present methods of birth control have certain disadvantages, all doctors make mistakes occasionally and tragedies occur. Some Family Planning clinics are trying to deal with only those couples who will never regret having the irreversible operation; other clinics are so frightened of the alleged side effects of the pill that vasectomy is advocated to everybody. Many doctors suggest vasectomy because they are unwilling to sterilise the woman. Nearly all doctors forget that the commonest methods of birth control in this country are the male methods of sheath or condom and withdrawal, and that though these methods are frowned on by the middle-class orientated doctors, the vast majority of people are suspicious of doctors with their white coats and instruments and questions about our sexual powers.

Vasectomy is like having false teeth. It would be easier all round if we had no need to control our fertility at all and could reproduce happily without medical, economic or social problems, but life is not like that. Most couples have to limit their families eventually and for them vasectomy may well be the answer so long as they do not expect too much of it. Vasectomy may be the best solution all in all, to solve a difficult problem, but to suggest no one will ever regret it is to pretend that dentures are better than one's own teeth!

Anyone who would like to consider vasectomy should start by discussing the matter with the family GP. He may do the operation himself or know

of a suitable surgeon. Most clinics prefer to see both partners, though at one or two this is not essential. The patient will be told about the operation again in great detail and will be asked to sign a consent form. Surgeons prefer a patient's GP to know about and agree to the operation for obvious reasons. The patient will be briefly examined to make sure that an operation is possible.

No one should be put off by not being legally married; nor if they have no or only one child: nor whether they are still fairly young or even fairly old. Most surgeons are interested only in whether or not the operation is the right thing to do in a particular case. The youngest at the Marie Stopes Clinic,* for example, was 21—he had a hereditary disease; and the oldest 64—he had a charming wife of 40!

Finally, let me say I am perturbed by many of the patients I see asking for vasectomy. Over half of them have never sought professional advice on family planning, and though usually vasectomy is by now appropriate, several really need advice about pills or caps or coils. But until we get a free and comprehensive National Health Service contraceptive service it is unlikely that we can begin to look at vasectomy unemotionally and sensibly.

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[Dr. Caroline Deys trained at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London; helped to start the Cambridgeshire Advisory Centre for Young People (affiliated to the Brook Clinics); and started the first rural domiciliary family planning scheme in the same county. Dr. Deys studied vasectomy in India, and is now pioneering training at the Marie Stopes Clinic, London.]

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In January 1972 Phillip Whitehead, M.P. for Derby North, moved a Private Member's Bill which would permit local authorities to provide voluntary vasectomies for men over 30 under the National Health. The National Health Service (Family Planning) Amendment Bill was given an unopposed second reading. The Under-Secretary, Health and Social Security, told the House that the government would not oppose its enactment.—Editor.

# THE ORTHODOX AND UNORTHODOX APPROACH TO HEALING

## by Francis Angold

THE medical profession is as much a secret cult as the Masonic Order. To demand inviolability is to engender suspicion. From early times healing has been regarded as the prerogative of the gods. Members of the profession have come to consider themselves in no less a role. It is somewhat incongruous that a body, devoted as it asserts to scientific investigation, should retain as its emblem a local daemon exalted to deity, Aesculapius.

Orthodox medical practice has become both dictatorial and experimentalist. The sick person is regarded as little more than a case; an object of experiment. Contrary to popular belief the situation tends to get worse rather than better. Some of the leading exponents are little more than demagogues. Every member of the profession, be he of high or low standing, is human and therefore subject to the defects of humanity. They are liable to make mistakes as they not infrequently do. In their case, however, someone suffers and not so infrequently as is believed, fatally. There are good men in the profession, even great ones, but the time has come to reject the cloak of mystery which enshrouds them, and the aura of sanctity which protects them.

There is nothing miraculous about medical science. The modern worker in this field follows in the train of a long host of diligent students. The only outstanding feature of present day medical science is its arrant presumption and arrogant self assertion.

The medical scientist is an experimentalist; not a few of the discoveries made have come about through good fortune rather than judgment. One worker labours for years unsuccessfully, then another by chance stumbles upon something astounding and is acclaimed accordingly. Every piece of work undertaken, it must be remembered, starts with an hypothesis; in all research there is the element of a gamble. Medical research, and particularly its purveyors, are tending to act in a manner that contravenes public morality. The medical scientist has no right to decide whether a person is to live or die. In so doing they have blatantly flouted their Hippocratic oath. The general public are used and not infrequently abused deliberately in the interests of personal gain and publicity. Many operations are performed under false pretences, not with the object of effecting a cure but of making a discovery. Much that goes on in the hospitals today is slap-dash and totally unworthy of the name of science. Whenever a blatant case comes to light it is either played down or shelved. The doctor is in the fortunate position of being able to bury his mistakes. This is orthodox practice; the official approach to healing opens the way to perfidious pursuit and profitable exploitation.

We have tended to lose our sense of proportion. The millions of dollars

wasted on the moon rocket could have been more profitably employed to effect relief from suffering and the elimination of starvation on our own planet. The fact that man has walked on the moon is in no sense remarkable. Such a feat was prefigured when man first walked upright on the earth.

We make so much of what has been attempted in surgery in modern times. None of this is to be compared for ingenuity and even skill with the trepanning of the skull by prehistoric man. Early man—presumably the 'specialists-consultants' of their day—diagnosed brain tumour and with stone implements carried out, apparently successfully, the operation.

The medical practitioner is 'official' because safeguarded by state legislation. The position of the doctor is analogous to the minister of the Church established by law; by virtue of his position he is not so much a servant of God, but in practice as in title a civil servant. When, as it inevitably will be, the Church is disestablished he will no longer be official, but one like unto his brethren of the non-conforming assembly.

The practice of primitive man in the field of medicine was deemed orthodox; simply because there was no competition. The modern doctor enjoys the same favoured position because he stifles opposition. The time may come and it is to be hoped it will, when the doctor will be compelled to stand on his individual and proven merit rather than shelter behind a calculated facade of protection.

It is important to appreciate the fact that *orthodoxy* implies nothing more than the official imprint. Most people labour under the delusion that one receives better treatment as a private patient as distinct from one enjoying national health benefit.

It may be that the former will receive more attention from the nursing staff and some personal privileges, but if the doctor is either careless or incompetent, from the strictly medical point of view the patient will fare no better in either case.

It is not so long comparatively speaking since barber and surgeon were one. Some surgeons are just human butchers, callous and sadistic both in outlook and in practice. The character and performance of the individual doctor will depend entirely upon the nature of the man. Too many enter the medical profession, particularly since one does not have to pay for one's training as is the case with the Church, not conscious of a vocation, but with the object of becoming 'somebody'. They seek an authoritative occupation; many of them being subject to an inferiority complex.

Women, since their admission to the profession, have made no great contribution. They serve as but pale reflections of masculine egoism. Dr. Elizabeth Garret Anderson (1836-1917) who has been hailed as the herald of female medicality was not above expressing her desire and intention to succeed. A good doctor but certainly not clothed in humility.[1]

The Code of Hammurabi, king of Babylon (c.2100 B.C.), while following a Semitic code of laws, was concerned for the health and physical well being of the people whom he dominated in the Sumerian and Akkadian city states. The Law of Moses, which was probably influenced by that of

Hammurabi, was essentially a sanitary code, designed to keep the race pure and in consequence healthy.

Under the Law of Moses a person suffering from a disease, particularly leprosy, could only be prescribed whole at the decision of a priest. It is of interest to note that Jesus when healing the lepers exhorted them to conform with the legal demand of the law and to show themselves to a priest.[2] Healing, from primitive times, has been regarded as the concomitant of religion.

The witch doctor and the medicine man were both in their respective roles religious in concept. Man was in danger of being 'possessed' by spirits. There were beyond question *good* spirits, but if such was the case there must also be *evil* spirits.

The function of these officials was to facilitate the former in their good offices and either to ward off the latter or, when having gained 'possession', to expel them. Sickness was seen therefore as the outcome of 'possession'; healing in consequence implied successful eviction. There can be no doubt that some cases of skull trepanning indicate the facilitation of the eviction of an evil spirit.

This idea of 'possession' has never been lost, even in the orthodox approach to healing. An older breed of doctors were unfailingly disposed to make certain that nothing unhealthy was lodged in the system. Curiously enough the science of bacteriology has taught us that we suffer from the invasion of parasites, in other words 'possession'.

Healing, even in Christian times, has been regarded as the handmaiden of the Church. Exorcism has in consequence played a vital part, and the office of Exorcist is one of the Minor Orders of the Church.

Largely as a result of the Reformation, healing came to be disassociated from the Church; medical practice, increasingly over the years, became the province of the sceptic and atheistically-minded. The Witch, it is strange to say, has been viewed both as the bringer of illness and at the same time a remedial factor in its cure. The Italian scholar, Francesco-Maria Guazzo, early in the seventeenth century listed twenty symptoms of bewitchment.[3] In most cases the witch was some unfortunate soul, deformed or weak of mind, who was made the scapegoat of misfortune.

The Church however has never completely surrendered the right to heal. She has held fast to the perpetuation of the miraculous. Through the centuries saints and images have been invoked, not altogether unsuccessfully. Lourdes has become the pivotal centre, where every 'cure' has to be attested by medical observers. Thus the Church while faintly adhering to the 'power present to heal' in the person of Jesus, seeks to win the support of orthodox practice and acknowledgment.

The reformed bodies, however, have proved more sceptical in outlook and for them healing is no longer the province of religion, but the field of rationalistic practice. They have accordingly tended to divorce soul from body; spiritual and physical are no longer one. Still, more recently as the outcome of Freudian analysis, they have surrendered the mind of the mental or sub-conscious to the psychologist for consideration and to the

psychiatrist for treatment. The reformers have therefore emphasised the trinitarian constitution of the human being; body, mind and spirit, claiming modestly as their peculiar province of jurisdiction the spirit.

It has of course become popular among non-conformist clerics to speak loudly of and to dabble in psychology, but only in the sense of a means to the end of obtaining publicity. They do not have 'a message of life', so fall back upon media of self-advertisement.

There are of course branches of the Christian Church, as for example those of Pentecostal persuasion, who firmly adhere to belief in the 'power present to heal', even in the twentieth century. The Church by law established, as is her custom, set up a Commission, which is merely a way of appearing to do something when in point of fact nothing is intended to be done. In more recent times, feeling the pinch of desertion of members, this body has made sporadic attempts to recapture lost ground by spectacular novelties in the field of healing. Unfortunately this has been done even more effectively by the Spiritualistic groups.

The Church of England, favouring compromise, has failed to come out boldly and affirm its belief in the power of the spirit to heal. In other words, she implies that whereas Jesus healed two thousand years ago, He is powerless to do so today. In consequence we are forced to submit to the services of men and women who for the most part are atheistically minded and not infrequently openly contemptuous of religious belief and practice. The time has come for the Church as a whole to declare in no uncertain terms whether she believes in God or not, and if so, whether He is all-powerful or merely a figment of the imagination.

While the Church is losing followers every year, and failing lamentably to win others, the Spiritualists are adding to their numbers. Within the Church, the Pentecostal movement leaps forward to ever greater achievements. The reason for these successes both inside and outside the Church is that in both cases they have a record of healing. In each case, the healing has a spiritual content. This however constitutes the unorthodox approach.

In the light of this it is salutary to recall that at one time, not so far distant, homoeopathic medicine was deemed unorthodox. More recently osteopathy was frowned upon by the medical profession. Ernest Barker was penalised, and any medical man who assisted him was ostracised. The hypocrisy of the situation may be appreciated when it is realised that eventually Barker was knighted. The unorthodox was accepted, not from choice, but by reason of the irrefutable benefits he had brought to his fellows.

The medical pundits are glib in their denunciation of faith healing, because at base they are jealous. The genuine faith healer lays no claim to special knowledge nor boasts of scientific skill. The faith healer believes unquestionably in the 'power present to heal'. All healing is the outcome of faith. The sick person who goes to the doctor believes, if but vaguely, in a competence to effect a cure or at least the alleviation of suffering.

Faith healing implies the invocation of the spirit. The spiritualist calls to his aid the spirit of the departed. That this *appears* to work, no sensible

person would seek to deny. There is however a grave risk in the calling up of spirits. Like primitive man, belief in the existence of beneficent spirits also demands the acceptance of belief in the actuality of evil spirits. There can be no real certainty, when calling up the spirits, whether those responding are in actual fact benevolent or malevolent.

Healing resulting from spiritualistic practice implies the use of suggestion. Dr. Coué introduced auto-suggestion as a system and was in consequence to a great extent unorthodox in outlook and practice. The spiritualist has always employed this method and in so doing shown a pre-disposition to healing. The spiritualist while believing in the power to heal does not necessarily believe in God or in Jesus. The faith healer, as for example the Pentecostal believer, believes in both God and Jesus.

I have had a wide experience of healing. In all honesty I must attest the fact that I have seen cases of healing by the medium of spiritualism. I am not a spiritualist, for the reason already stated. I regard the practice as dangerous. On the other hand I accept and pay tribute to the evidence of my eyes.

We know now that a very large proportion of physical illness results from mental disturbance. Perhaps demonology is by no means extinct?

Healing in one form or another results from liberation. I have witnessed a sick man being freed from an evil spirit. The psycho-analyst seeks to release his patient from that which is embedded in the sub-conscious. The healing ministry of Jesus covered practically every form of ailment known to man; blindness, loss of hearing and speech, the woman who was deformed, dropsy, leprosy, fever, lameness, palsy, being possessed of demons, the man with the withered hand, and the woman suffering from uterine hemorrhage.

The diseases cured by Jesus represent those of mind and body. Age was no barrier, class no distinction, sex no impediment. As many as touched Him were made 'whole' of whatsoever disease they had.

> Jesus as a historical figure in a definite age cannot be excepted from the rules of historical inquiry which are applicable to other historical personages. We must attempt to know him as he was, rather than as he was not and never claimed to be.[4]

Jesus never claimed to be God, but he did attest the Father's almighty power. When John sent some of his followers to question Jesus, as to whether he were the Messiah or no, Jesus told the men to tell John of what they had seen and heard.[5] Jesus was in fact saying as He did on another occasion 'believe me for the very works sake'.[6]

Faith healing believes in the same power to heal now as in the days of Jesus; the arm of God is not shortened. He is the same yesterday, today and for ever.[7]

I consider it a privilege to number many doctors among my friends. I have likewise seen many cases of faith healing. In some instances the afflicted have been healed with the laying on of hands, in others just by the prayer of faith alone. The important fact is that sick people are being healed by methods deemed by the self-important and officious to be

unorthodox. There may be those who prey upon society; there are such to be found in the ranks of the orthodox.

Orthodoxy serves a purpose both on a national and an international basis, but those of orthodox persuasion have no right to scorn, and still less seek to prevent, the ministrations of the so-called unorthodox. Anyone who can bring relief to the sufferer becomes in consequence a servant of humanity. All those who have a genuine regard for the sick in mind and body must welcome every legitimate contribution made to the well-being of mankind, irrespective of whether the approach is made by orthodox or unorthodox methods. Jesus it must be remembered was condemned by the Jews because He healed on the sabbath day. Eventually the Jews accomplished His death because He healed the sick and raised the dead by what appeared to them to be unorthodox practice.

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1 See *Elizabeth Garret Anderson.* Jo Manton, 1965, 76, 80, 91.
2 Mark 1.44; Luke 17.14.
3 *Compendium Maleficarum,* 1608. Translated by Dr. R. H. Robbins. See also R. H. Robbins, *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft and Demonology,* 1959.
4 Samuel Angus. *Forgiveness and Life,* 1962, 8.
5 Matthew 11.1-6; Luke 7.19-23.
6 John 10.38.
7 Hebrews 13.8.

# THE AWAKENING

## by Denys Val Baker

THE woodchopper came to the lodge early one summer morning. He was a shambling giant of a man with fair hair and a gingery beard and bright blue eyes that seemed to look everywhere at once. He wore khaki dungarees and a navy blue sweater and carried his axe and saw over one shoulder. But he looked neither poor nor in particular a working man. He had a way of throwing his head back and sniffing joyfully at the fresh morning air, a way of suddenly hunching up his shoulders and then heaving them back as if in so doing he heaved away all the normal cares of the world. And then he might start singing, in a low but musical baritone voice. The singing and his walking, the man himself, seemed to belong to that fresh and free summer morning, as much as the birds in the trees, as much as the green grass and the hedgerows, alive with wild violets and primroses.

The woman in the lodge watched him coming from the darkness of her bedroom. The lodge was a dark sort of place, in contrast to its sunlit surroundings, and the bedroom was perhaps the darkest corner. It was overshadowed by a tall oak tree whose top reached high up to the sky and had lately seemed to lean menacingly over the thatched roof of the lodge. The woman had come to look on the general darkness as some sort of shadow across her life, and she had been glad when her husband, who worked as manager on the nearby estate, had decided that for safety's sake the tree must be cut down.

At the same time, even as she half welcomed the promised lightening, she almost feared its implications. For the few years of their married life she and her husband had always lived in the lodge, and in some way its subdued atmosphere had set the pattern of their relationship. The woman had clung to the limited safety of this pattern, ignoring the bright worlds outside.

The woodchopper was brief, almost off-hand towards the woman. His eyes, with their bright inquisitiveness, rested upon her for a moment only, then darted away on their endless quest as if, on such a bright summer morning, no mere human being deserved as much attention as the flowers, the birds, the fragrant fruit blossoms. He asked in a rough but not uneducated voice which was the tree he had to cut down. The woman took him round to the rear and showed him the tall oak, with its enormous broad base. At once she felt his attention, his very presence, removed from her altogether as his mind and body focussed upon this single problem.

All that morning the woodchopper was high up in the tree, whittling away the thinner branches, chopping down the sturdier ones. In the lodge the woman tried to busy herself about household duties, but in the end she could pretend no more. She had to go up into her bedroom, there to stand guardedly looking out of the window. She pretended to herself that she was

watching the tree, but she knew that really she was watching the woodchopper. He for his part was aware of the woman watching him, but it meant no more than the feel of the sunshine or the breath of the morning wind on his skin. He grinned to himself, and raised his voice in song.

When the woodchopper worked like that, with fire and zest in his movements, it seemed to the woman that he was something more than a woodchopper. As the branches disappeared from around him so the burning rays of the sun seemed to gather behind him and form a halo, red against his burnished gold—perhaps, indeed, gold against gold. Yes, thought the woman, he is like a golden god high in the tree. And sitting there in darkness she did not find it difficult to imagine that she was looking out upon some strange and exotic world, full of marvellous promise.

In the middle of the day the woodchopper asked for a glass of water. Flustered, the woman filled a tumbler and handed it to him. While he drank, on an impulse she went over to the cupboard and brought back a large shiny rose-red apple.

Before she could say anything the woodchopper took the apple from between her fingers and held it up against the light streaming through the window. It seemed to the woman that as the woodchopper touched the apple it sprang to life. Now it gleamed with a glow she had not noticed before.

'Look,' said the woodchopper, 'Look how smooth and hard and round it is, how crisp and sweet.' He held the apple in one hand and ran thick fingers around it caressingly, then raised it expectantly to his mouth and crunched his teeth deep into the rose-coloured skin. The woman could almost taste in her own mouth the sweetness. Although she was hardly aware of it, she watched the woodchopper directly and boldly, without any of the inhibitions one might have expected.

At last the woman stirred, afraid that the sweetness might become unbearable.

'I have a leg of chicken and some tomatoes and bread,' she said. 'Would you like some?'

Rather to her disappointment the woodchopper took the plate and went to sit down in the sunshine, on the wide green lawn. Beyond thanking her he neither invited nor rejected her presence. For a time the woman hovered in her kitchen, torn between the conditioning of old habits and the bright call of the sunshine. Then she went out and walked very slowly along the side of the lawn, looking at the tree.

Now that it was stripped of all its branches, the tree looked somehow lonely, soaring up into the sky out of a tangled mass of leaves and foliage. It was a loneliness that had a certain grandeur about it, perhaps of despair. For a moment the woman's whole emotions were captured and she felt like crying.

'Yes,' said the woodchopper, still chewing his chicken and not looking at the woman but at the tree, 'the death of a tree is always a sad thing. I would much rather plant one, any day.'

From the tone of his voice the woman wondered if in some way he

blamed her for the necessity to destroy rather than create, and she plunged into a muddle of explanations. 'It makes the house so dark . . . And it's dangerous, look already how it leans over. Such an awkward tree.'

When she was agitated the woman, normally rather pale, became flushed and young looking, her gleaming eyes brightening her face into life. The woodchopper noticed her for the first time and saw that she had lived too long within herself.

'Don't worry,' he said gently. 'It's a very old tree, anyway. It has had its life, a hundred times over. And you are just beginning yours. Don't worry your pretty head.'

Then he got to his feet and grinned at the woman and went to the foot of the tree. This time he did not attempt to climb up but made a niche at the bottom with his axe, then picked up the saw and began sawing into the thick bark hide of the tree.

The woman sat for a while on the lawn, absolutely still, watching the woodchopper. As he worked the saw, his shoulders heaving in the sunlight, his muscles straining back and then unleashing, she saw that there was something quite beautiful about him. It was the same sort of beauty as there was in the sunshine, in the crisp green blades of grass, in the silver gleam of water in the lily pond, in the mauve sweep of the rhododendron bushes. It was the beauty of the living, of life itself.

After a time the woodchopper called the woman to move away from the lawn, and she went into the house and up to her bedroom again. She sat by the window and waited, until suddenly the tall tree in front of her began to sway gently, and then more erratically, at last falling sharply away from her vision.

The sound of the tree hitting the ground did not register with the woman half as much as the shock of the great wave of brightness that fell about her. It was as if she really had been submerged by a gigantic wave of the sea. Dazed, she sat there for minute after long minute, letting the great sheets of light bathe her, fall upon her, wash away all the shadows and darkness. It was like the difference between day and night.

At last she stood up and leaned out of the window. Everywhere there was light, light, light. Everywhere she could see the sky, the sun, space infinite. Oh, thought the woman, this is marvellous, I feel free, I am reborn. And suddenly she raised her face upwards and began singing, singing to the sky, to the light, to the new world.

Far below, sawing the dead tree up into logs, the woodchopper paused and listened. The sound of the woman's voice seemed to lift above the other sounds of the afternoon, triumphant, confident, yet curiously poignant. The woodchopper grinned to himself and ran his tongue over the edge of his upper lip, thinking about his wife walking down a street or sitting in their garden dancing the baby on her knee, or coming to meet him in the evening along a lazy country lane. Then he laughed and shook his head, and bent more keenly to his work in order to finish the job as soon as possible. An hour later he was on his way, striding down the drive, the sunlight falling over his shoulders and glinting on his golden hair.

The woman did not see the woodchopper go. She remained at her window all the afternoon. She felt, somehow, she could not move without aid for fear of losing this wonderful sense of freedom. When finally her husband arrived home she called out to him to come up to the bedroom, and she was still standing by the window when he came through the door. With the late sunshine falling about her in golden sheets the woman was transfixed with radiance: she looked quite beautiful. When she held her arms out wide towards him her husband forgot all the trite remarks he would have made about the tree and what's for tea. Their kiss, that sunny afternoon, was the beginning of their real life together.

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# DISRAELI'S BRADENHAM

## by Trevor Allen

WHEN I first visited staid seventeenth century Bradenham Manor, Disraeli's Buckinghamshire home under the West Wycombe beeches I was reminded of a small French chateau. The brick walls under slate roof with dormers were terracotta-washed, the window-frames white, pilasters flanked the plain oak door.

One entered the park from the village green, with its flint and brick cottages and russet-tiled farm, by pillared gateway. A cobbled pathway led to a circular cobbled approach and shallow steps. The hall was marble-paved, its open fireplace backed by blue and grey Dutch tiles. A door on the right opened into a panelled room where Disraeli wrote *Endymion.* Beyond was a large drawing-room with musical alcove and grand piano. It faced south over terraced lawns, trees and shrubbery. The house was backed by fir and beech woods rising to a common. The servants' floor up aloft had rough attic beams — in extreme contrast with sunny morning-room, panelled study and booklined library.

It was all elegantly impressive, with much dignity and some veneer which may have been Victorian. But did I detect features one might call essentially Disraelian, remembering his sometimes artificial style? Green marbled pillars flanking the stately hall's Dutch-tiled fireplace were not marble at all. As I climbed the broad oak staircase under a ceiling adorned with cherubs I observed that cornices and brackets were not real but also painted on, as in a stage set. Even the 'sculptured' hounds guarding the front door were counterfeit, for one was a hollow receptacle with hinged flap, possibly for letters and—conceivably—young Disraeli's bills.

He was 25 when his father, author of the *Curiosities of Literature,* took the manor in 1829. The move to Bradenham, with his sister Sarah's earnest help, was partly to get away from London and his hopeless passion for his friend's wife, Mrs. Austen, whom he had known before her marriage.

It had come to a head in moonlit Venice when he accompanied them on an Italian tour, and again by a solitary lake on the Mont Cenis pass on their return. It could never go beyond an avowal sealed by a furtive kiss and embrace because of their loyalty to Austen. He lived down this frustrated love mooning about the Bradenham beechwoods and concentrating on his novel-writing to offset his debts.

I pictured him settling in with the sympathetic Sarah to review the position. A grievous £7,000 gamble on a rise in South American mining stocks with fellow-clerk, Evans, in the solicitor's office where he first worked had put him in pawn to moneylenders. Against that, he had earned £200 with his satirical novel *Vivian Grey,* rebutting the critics who deplored his conceit in writing it by declaring 'Every man has a right to be conceited until he is successful' and vowing to become a great author,

notwithstanding a particularly scathing attack on him in the *Magnet* magazine.

He loved the house and park, explored the surrounding countryside with Sarah. Gazing over the firs and beeches, he wrote *The Young Duke* in his room-with-a-view and sold it for £500, which helped to keep the duns at bay. He dreamed, too, of a full life in the style of his ducal hero, with a fitting ending: 'Let me die eating ortolans to the sound of soft music!' Later, in *Endymion,* he was to write lovingly of the Bradenham scene, calling it Hurstley.

He visited Westminster to take the measure of the parliamentary oratory, seeing his father that way also. Bradenham was the nursery of his compulsive ambitions. Political renown, the Premiership and friendship with his Queen lay far ahead, yet the germ of them was here in this Buckinghamshire solitude where a young man thwarted in love schooled himself for the great future that awaited him.

Meantime, he would travel and see the world; and even his travels, so early in life, would be in the grand manner befitting a future lord. He turned his back on the loved house, the small flint church with squat tower, early Norman doorway, where a monument would be erected to his father, Isaac, when he died in 1848.

With friend William Meredith, he embarked on the Grand Tour that inspired him to wear a turban and smoke a six-foot hookah in Turkey, swagger through Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and quit Malta dressed as a Greek pirate in red shirt, cap, and slippers, wide sky-blue pantaloons richly embroidered, and a cummerbund stuffed with pistols and daggers. Nay, more. He had with him, as valet, Byron's Venetian gondolier Tita, who had stabbed an enemy or two, wooed pretty girls in his master's behalf, and heard the poet's dying words, 'Augusta . . . Ada . . .'

Of all Bradenham's ghosts, this, with his long moustachios, is the strangest. André Maurios says that Benjamin was 'much embarrassed by his charge'. We are not told if the valet was also embarrassed by Benjamin, whose tastes were beginning to run to green velvet trousers, canary waistcoats, buckle shoes and lace cuffs. Perhaps, since he was a Byronic Venetian who had fought for the Greeks, it did not matter . . . Old Isaac Disraeli found him some jobs to do, while Ben launched into Wycombe politics and London society.

For ten years, until his marriage, Bradenham was there in the background to foster his dreams and solace his frustrations. When Wycombe rejected the young Radical candidate, he returned to the solitude of his room, soliloquised under the beeches, conceived a Napoleonic epic which would be as great as Homer's, published two cantos, and then—when the public did so—lost interest in it.

More unsuccessful elections, an extravagant London mistress, monstrous dress bills, and the expenses of fashionable living brought bailiffs to the door—and Ben to the sanctuary of beechen paths until they conveniently left. The London social venture, however, brought also to Bradenham a more propitious visitor: the rich, smiling widow,

Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, whom the family adored.

When he first met that 'pretty little woman, a flirt, a rattle' at a London party she told him she liked 'silent, melancholy men'—presumably the opposite of her voluble self. Asked some time later at the Rothschilds' to take her in to dinner, he exclaimed: 'Oh, anything rather than that insufferable woman!'

Nevertheless, she was destined to become his cherished Mary Ann, mollify a troubled heart—and debts nearing the £20,000 mark—and assist him in his triumphal progress to Westminster. His maiden speech—somewhat florid, by accounts—he rehearsed on idyllic walks through the Bradenham countryside.

No courtship demanded more tact from a suitor than his of Mrs. Lewis. In fact, he had to be as diplomatic as in any of his later political ventures. First, he had to respect the grief she felt at the loss of a husband she had loved; and consoling a still devoted widow who has no thought of remarrying is no easy mission. Then he had to consider his own financial straits relative to her comparative wealth and ensure that no approach on his part would be misconstrued: a situation needing delicate handling.

It was in the clipped yew walk that he first declared his love and proposed to her. He had noticed how naturally she fitted into the family life, gossiping happily with Sarah, reading aloud to his father, talking gardening with Tita and recipes with Maria, the housekeeper, slowly but surely recovering from her dear husband's death.

At times, from an almost girlish frankness, she said the most outrageous things and was surprised at the merriment they provoked, but he loved her for them. She was in his thoughts from morn to night; he watched to see what dress she would be wearing, especially after she gave up mourning.

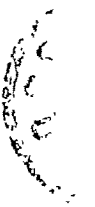
During these Bradenham visits he came to realise that she was necessary to him, he could not live without her, she would be the perfect partner for the career he visualised. But the chatter of women friends had made her fear that others would say he was marrying a much older woman solely for her money. He had to fight hard to break down her scruples before she could confess 'I am devoted to you' and agree to a marriage that proved to be a blessing to both.

It is difficult to reconcile such intimate happenings in Bradenham's past with the routine chits, memos, and manifests of commercial firms using his memoried rooms as offices; but that was one of the side-effects of twentieth century air war. I have no doubt that Victoria's staunch minister, statesman of Empire, saviour of the Suez Canal, would have condoned the necessary intrusion in such a dire emergency.

A computer firm now occupies Bradenham; Hughenden, open to the public, is owned by the National Trust.

# THE TRIAL OF FREEDOM

## by Ben Whitaker



> The law doth punish man or woman
> That steals the goose from off the common,
> But lets the greater felon loose
> That steals the common from the goose.
> —Anon., 1764.

SEVERAL recent cases in this country—such as those about a number of university posts and the Cambridge students' trial of 1970—have involved the classic dilemmas in that long-running serial, the conflict of liberties. Each of the protagonists—students protesting against the colonelocracy in Greece, radical lecturers, university authorities, police officers and appeal court judges—see themselves as the defenders of freedom under attack.

A form of freedom (and I don't just mean freedom from employment) seems to be the chief discernible theme in present Tory policy. At no election does any political party ever include reduction of liberty in its manifesto, yet many policy proposals imply it. For the left it's inescapable, not only in the process of reforming an unjust society, but also in regulating social responsibility in matters such as factory safety (and, more arguably, planning aesthetics' value judgments). At the risk of Orwellian Newspeak, some social engineering is necessary if people are to enjoy the actuality of freedom. Breathalyser laws, for example, involve a sacrifice by drinkers, publicans and undertakers as the price for giving all of us more freedom from being mown down by a drunk.

Right-wing people, more subtly, tend to erode liberty under a meretricious banner of the 'freedom of the individual': yet so often this catchphrase is used by them only in the sense that the Savoy Hotel or litigation is open to everyone. The reality of freedom involves equal opportunity of at least a decent home, health, education and career—and not just, for example, among male WASPs, as it often does in Alabama, Northern Ireland or Southern Africa.

The premise most reasonable people (by which I suppose one means oneself) would start with is that a civilised society allows people to lead their own lives as far as possible, provided they do not harm others: the less interference there is, the better. It is the exceptions people make which are the interesting and difficult area: the no-man's-land of conflict between the right to do one's thing and responsibility to the community. Some people also feel a duty of interference to 'save a person from himself' or, whether or not invoking a religion, to uphold what they claim to be a moral standard.

Drug-taking is one obvious field of such disputed territory which is claimed by diametrically rival armies of freedom-fighters both waving flags inscribed 'Liberty'. Severe criminal sanctions try to prevent an individual's right even to possess certain drugs. This may be altruistic, certainly in the

case of hard drugs. But on that reasoning, why does society not also intervene to stop a person supplying alcohol to a man drinking himself to addiction or death—particularly since recent research tends to show that alcohol and drugs are alternative addictive stimulants? (To tax it merely results in concentrating the harm upon the richest and most powerful members of society.)

A visitor from another planet, having noted that Britain jails sellers of the one for many years, might be surprised to find that we award fortunes and peerages to the peddlers of the other—especially since drink is the biggest single contributor to aggressive crime. Or he might wonder at the readiness with which we interfere with a person's right to pollute only himself, compared with the freedom and indeed rewards we give to industrialists who profitably pollute other people's environment.

There is more than a suspicion of Victorian lace-curtains and frills-around-piano-legs in our making it a crime to be drunk in public, but not otherwise. Why did we arrest 100,000 people last year in England and Wales for doing publicly what it is happily legal to do in private? Not all drunks are a pretty sight—but extreme poverty is also obscene, and nobobdy (yet) suggests that the victims of this should be swept under the carpet by law. There are similar compromises and public prejudice, at the expense of logic, in our laws governing sexual behaviour.

Where, either, is the sense in our making it illegal to take a dangerous drug and yet lawful (as it now is) to attempt suicide itself? Presumably, therefore, the drug laws are not just for the benefit of those arrested under them: perhaps society is seeking to protect itself not so much from the death of an individual as from the costs of having a drug addict on its hands. In 1968, 877 people died from motor-bicycles compared to 30 known deaths from drugs. One avoidable death is too many—but the government still gives no grant to the Samaritans.

Why however should we help lung-cancer by allowing duty-free cigarettes to air-travellers? Heavy cigarette smoking may or may not be a less lethal addiction, although I'm inclined to share David Steel's view that it should be confined to consenting adults in private. But it is society—not of course those who make the profits out of selling or advertising tobacco—which often has to bear the cost of the extra burdens that lung-cancer (like alcoholism or road or firework accidents) causes to an overworked health service and its victims' families.

Freedoms are often only viewed within a framework of current mores, but the point of responsibility is in its being assumed voluntarily. Attitudes to whether society has the right to try to prevent a person from harming himself if his family or the community suffers thereby depend on one's idea of the social contract. It is a dilemma that has been sharpened by the public provision of education and welfare. It underlies controversy about student grants or the brain drain: the morality of a person using the costly medical training supplied to him by Britain in order to obtain a lucrative appointment in North America—and especially if this in turn results in our depriving the Indian sub-continent of badly needed doctors.

In a welfare state, is one of the human liberties the right not to work if one chooses? Or again, while education is a human right, mayn't it also be one *not* to be compulsorily educated?

In connection with these last questions and the resentment voiced against young people today who opt out of their elders' ideas of conventional life, we should not let people forget that the children of the rich have always if they wished grown their hair long or have been able to opt out. Indeed, it is not so long since it was thought indecent for the young of the upper class to do anything else—apart from take part in the ritualised gang 'agro' known as blood-sports. This is a key consideration to be remembered whenever 'permissiveness' is under attack over the port or in the pub. The word 'privilege' means private law. Prior to recent reforms in this country, if a person were wealthy enough, he or she was always able to obtain a divorce, an annulment or an abortion or pornography—just as richer servicemen can sometimes buy their release in the same way as their fathers used to be able to buy a commission or a title or a Parliamentary seat. Workers' street-betting was declared evil by judges who enjoyed gambling and turf-accounts. America only took its drug problem seriously when the children of the middle-classes, including Congressmen, began to join the addicted.

Authority adopts a different attitude to people described as 'youths' from that to those described as 'young people'. At Oxford between the wars the same teenage behaviour that was 'outrageous hooliganism' on a housing estate, requiring to be sternly stamped on by magistrates, was alternatively viewed at Christ Church as 'the young gentlemen having their bit of sporting fun' with Mr. Pennyfeather or police officers' helmets after bump-suppers. More loutish damage was caused at universities by future pillars of authority after club dinners—'terrible fun' or 'frightful fun' as the upper classes describe it—than by any of the students who were imprisoned for their Byronic reaction to the recent Greek tourist dinner at Cambridge. It is interesting that the local and national Establishment were affronted far more by the latter than by the former. When Swansea rugby stewards took violent direct action against demonstrators, or when farmers protested and rioted against the price-review, there was no arrest and no indignant letter in the *Telegraph*. Though it goes without saying that we must have the same attitude to demonstrators for a cause we dislike as we have to those with whom we sympathise; and equally students must be treated no differently from everybody else—neither more harshly, nor more sympathetically, than less educated teenagers against whose sentences there has been conspicuously less protest.

Recent social and legal changes have merely extended some similar opportunities to others besides the rich or aristocratic people in this country, who have always if they wished been able to enjoy permissiveness as much as other privileged freedoms in education and health. This does not endear these reforms to people who enjoy moral indignation or those whose exclusive preserve the privileges have been up to now. It has been painful for some people to adjust to their wife, let alone their servants, now being

able to read *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Status is diminished when it comes to be shared by others, as any Jones family whose neighbours are intent on keeping up with them knows.

Another source of the hostility with which particularly the letters-to-the-Editor writing classes react to young people today enjoying themselves is probably simple jealousy, together with the unkind reminder they bring of advancing years. Few of us—the Labour Party is a walking example—seem able to escape becoming more conservative as we get older. Gladstone, in some of his ideas, and Bertrand Russell are the only exceptions to this tendency that I can think of. It's interesting to speculate about the reason for this: perhaps we feel a need to rationalise in order to live with our past failure to change ourself or our society. Adaptability, and the ability to admit one is wrong, except for a gifted few, get harder as age increases.

Anti-permissiveness seems more a characteristic of this generational authoritarianism than of any particular political view. Russia, Spain, China and Greece all share hyper-sensitivity to the threat of such a decadence as the mini-skirt. Leaders of every political prejudice invoke shibboleths such as 'law and order' or *nyet kulturni* to try to denigrate critics of their Establishment values or to raise a smokescreen to divert attention from underlying social wrongs—often much more important obscenities.

To cite the effect on the police and law-enforcement as an excuse for attacking the recent social reforming laws in Britain, as some people do, is misconceived. The result in practice has been to reduce the area of criminal law requiring enforcement—and, in cases such as abortion and adult homosexuality, one which was highly discretionary and difficult to enforce.

The allegation that we are following the path of the last days of the Roman Empire is harder to evaluate. Such dire prophets of calamity are, of course, nothing new. The fact that similar assertions about the collapse of civilisation were made by those who opposed successive Reform Bills, the abolition of slavery, the emancipation of Roman Catholics and of women, or the abolition of capital punishment for children stealing a shilling, is evidence neither for nor against.

But there was at least a biological rationale in some of the opposition in the past to liberalising the laws governing sexual behaviour. The restrictions on divorce, homosexuality and abortion date from the days when nations were concerned to increase their populations, for colonial, commercial or military reasons. This remained the view of public policy as recently as our own Royal Commission on Population in 1949. Since then medical advance (in particular the development of antibiotics) has transformed the situation so that today it is the population increase which worries most responsble countries. Liberalisation of the sex laws, whatever other results it may have, is no longer a threat to patriotism.

David Marquand has argued in *New Society* that it is inconsistent for the left, as economic interventionists, to be against censorship. On the contrary, I think both attitudes are consistent parts of the same concern for liberty. Furthermore, the democratic left, in its pursuit of equality of

opportunity, has everything to gain from the widest possible right of expression. It is the right-wing defenders of an unjust *status quo* who should find difficulty in reconciling their interest in censorship with their professed dogma of the freedom of the individual.

But by far the most acute moral dilemma today is how far liberalism should be tolerant of intolerance. Not only in wartime we deny certain jobs to people holding some opinions on the grounds of 'security'. Now the same argument has moved to the universities, involving whether academic freedom should be allowed to extend to revolutionaries, or whether it must be 'redefined'. Can a liberal society or academic institution afford to tolerate those who would destroy it? Or is any derogation from liberal values, even towards totalitarians who would not show reciprocal toleration, a betrayal of liberalism itself?

We have no guarantee that our constitution or our ideas are the last word in perfection. Liberty is rare and fragile, but so is truth. Toleration of speech and thought is the basis of respect for the diversity of one's fellow human beings. I suspect that the desire to suppress ideas is related to a desire to suppress people. Revolutionary acts are another matter, but if liberalism cannot survive verbal exposure in the intellectual market-place—whether at a university or anywhere else—may it not forfeit its claim to be preferable to its enemies? Equally, if we are to have a society preferable to the alternatives, communists should be allowed to stand for any union office, University Monday Clubs allowed their meetings, and even Colin Jordan to be a schoolteacher (provided he teaches well enough and leaves politics at the classroom door). I don't remember any protests at his dismissal: left and right, through fear of being associated with the National Front, were equally cowardly and guilty of double standards.

As a card-carrying libertarian I believe it was in fact an error for us to legislate against the expression of racialist views, not only because it is a precedent even more dangerous than racialism itself, but also because one is more likely to remove racial or fascist prejudices by persuasion and exploring their origins than by suppressing them forcibly underground. Attempts to enforce such laws invariably seem to catch the loud-mouth, seldom the instigating brain. It is encouraging for moderates that the results of allowing the extreme right and left freedom of speech in Britain has been minimal—and probably diminished—support for them; whereas outlawing them would have given them both the publicity they crave and the glamour of heroic resistance martyrs. It is true that we must remember the Weimar Republic. But democracy failed in Germany not through freedom of speech, but because of weakness against illegal and thuggish *actions*.

A situation of 'invisible' suppression can arise, when some staff refuse to print part or even the whole of a newspaper because they disagree with criticism it contains. This is just as indefensible as the unconsciously white, masculine middle-class bias of almost all the media but it is arguably more dangerous because its incidence is invisible, whereas much printed bias is so conspicuous that it is counter-productive. There have recently been other instances where powerful advertisers have brought pressure to deter

an adverse news-story, as well as a converse one where an advertisement was removed because of disagreement with the opinion it contained. But whereas a good editor will, at a cost, ignore advertisers' threats of blackmail, he cannot survive without printers. I think that the BBC should make more use of its independence from both to broadcast the facts when pressures are put on newspapers or ITV.

One of the tests of the strength and confidence of a democracy, as well as one of the reasons for suffering the British climate, is the sight of police sometimes tolerating and protecting public speakers uttering offensive views. To defend this right, we must be prepared to stand up and be shot at. I admire Jim Callaghan for recently speaking out on behalf of Rudi Dutschke, a man with whose views he has little sympathy. For who knows which of us through the turn of future events will not be in a violently unpopular minority ourselves?

Who is so confident as to be certain that he or his views are the embodiment of normalcy or truth in this or any field? Cannibalism, slavery, no votes for women, were once conventional. What are the political or sexual 'norms' of classical Greece or of present day South Africa? Keats and Blake were thought lunatic in their day. Shelley and Annie Besant were deprived of their children because their contemporaries were disturbed by their ideas. The more relevant a new truth is, the more pain and rage it frequently arouses. The recollection that the views of Socrates, Christ, Rousseau, Voltaire, Paine, Darwin, Freud, Ibsen, Joyce, Shaw and D. H. Lawrence were all attacked as abnormal in their time might make any silent majority keep its decent reticence.

The more unpopular and unfashionable a view, and the more unorthodoxy is opposed to the prevalent consensus, the more I would hope that the media in a mature democracy would feel it their duty to give dissenting minorities a hearing. However offensive they may seem, are not the alternatives—both in principle and in the feeling that only violence will be effective—more dangerous? Freedom, as Sartre says, is indivisible: to limit others' is ultimately to destroy our own.

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# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## QUARTERLY FICTION REVIEW

### by Rosalind Wade

*A Time to Heal* by Claire Rayner (Cassell £2.50); *The Needle's Eye* by Margaret Drabble (Weidenfeld & Nicolson £2.25); *Odd Girl Out* by Elizabeth Jane Howard (Jonathan Cape £1.95); *The Immaculate Mis-Conception* by Maryann Forrest (Michael Joseph £2.40); *Albert's Memorial* by David Cook (Secker and Warburg Alison Press £2.10); *The Tiny Tots* by James Balfour (Hutchinson £1.80); *Fugue for a Darkening Island* by Christopher Priest (Faber £1.75); *Water with Berries* by George Lamming (Longmans £2); *Black List Section H* by Francis Stuart (Southern Illinois University Press $10); *Glory* by Vladimir Nabokov (Weidenfeld and Nicolson £1.75).

One of the problems confronting the modern novelist is the extent to which the developments of the technological age can be utilised as background material. Despite the manifold advantages of a computerised society the experience and preference of the average reader remain firmly rooted in the pre-automated past. Yet if successfully undertaken scientific settings can be exciting. Claire Rayner is a notable exponent of these. Her previous novel, *The Meddlers*, dealt with an experiment on a human child; the theme of her new novel, *A Time to Heal*, is infinitely more macabre. It concerns the attempt of a woman research worker, Dr. Harriet Berry, to resuscitate an inoperable cancer patient by treatments which are her own invention. Despite every prediction of failure, she is successful. The patient, in himself a very average personality, by his recovery unwittingly propels his benefactor into the centre of a storm. Unwelcome press publicity and attempted exploitation of the highest ideals of clinical rehabilitation follow in the wake of Dr. Berry's triumph over man's most dreaded disease. *A Time to Heal* pulls no punches and makes few concessions to the reader's reluctance to inspect the temples of healing too closely. Most of its purpose is conveyed in rasping, colloquial dialogue indicative of a closed society in which the medical staff work intimately together in conditions of almost intolerable strain. The result is a memorable novel, one which provides much material for thought, although leaving behind it a somewhat acrid flavour.

Very different, though almost equally absorbing, is *The Needle's Eye* by Margaret Drabble. Margaret Drabble is not concerned with the fruits of scientific research but rather with the basic situations and dilemmas which prompt the human impulse. The starting point is simple, even ordinary—a dinner party at which a moderately successful barrister, Simon Candish, finds himself seated next to a somewhat disorganised *femme seule*, Rose Vassiliou. A grinding daily routine and a frustrating marriage have blurred for him the pleasure of anticipation. Nor is the picture of Rose Vassiliou sobbing out her own marital problems an immediately attractive proposition. Yet, when she appeals to him for guidance, he becomes involved with the solution of her legal conundrum. Inevitably, he becomes disillusioned with Rose after she returns to her husband. Reconciliation with his own wife fails to provide him with escape from a permanent condition of disillusionment. There is no tidy or conclusive solution for this group of well-differentiated people who tangle

themselves up in each other's affairs. Margaret Drabble does not use gimmicks in her narrative form. The beginning of this novel is more interesting than either the middle or the end. Possibly the most effective scene is in Rose's flat after the dinner party, when she casts the first silken strands around Simon Candish and her frowsty, ineffectual way of life is revealed by a wealth of relevant detail.

Opening in an equally muted key is Elizabeth Jane Howard's long awaited new novel, *Odd Girl Out*. Elizabeth Jane Howard has a brittle talent which thrives on an artificially contrived plot. Arabella Dawick, an unscrupulous, wealthy young woman reminiscent of one of Evelyn Waugh's 'Bright Young Things', drifts about the Continent until, after a costly abortion, she decides to confer her presence on two unsuspecting relatives, Anne and Edmund Cornhill. Arabella is a basically tragic person seen in the context of our own times, for neither her money nor her sexual licence protect her from spiritual desolation. Predictably, Edmund becomes attracted to her and she responds to his overtures. Up to this point, *Odd Girl Out* might have been just another examination of the 'eternal triangle' theme. Instead, the plot takes a different turn. Edmund is sent abroad on business and in his absence Anne and Arabella embark upon a lesbian relationship which yields them more happiness and satisfaction than they have experienced hitherto. However, by the time Edmund returns Arabella knows that she is expecting a child—Edmund's. It is assumed by the Cornhills that she will undergo a second abortion. Thus, Arabella departs for London, leaving behind her the disrupted lives of the formerly placid married couple. This bizarre situation is rendered effective by Elizabeth Jane Howard's attention to domestic detail and her unfailing ability to record accurately and convincingly how people think and act.

But whereas these three successful and established writers are using mainly traditional techniques there are others who hasten without preamble to the heart of often startling and unusual situations. *The Immaculate Mis-Conception* by Maryann Forrest (illustrated by Polly Hope) opens divertingly with the arrival of Mette, a Danish au-pair girl, at a mansion decorated to resemble frothy ice-cream. The children are 'demon angels'; the staff racy and amusing. Inevitably, Mette falls in love with the Master and the Mistress orders her out of the house. All this is conveyed with the sly, economical humour normally associated with domestic comedy. Thus the reader is totally unprepared for the orgy of 'black' imagery and surrealist symbolism which takes up the second half of the novel. Maryann Forrest has been hailed as a promising new writer of fantasy. She might be even more successful in the realm of realistic wit.

The same could be claimed for David Cook. In his first novel, *Albert's Memorial*, he opens with a laconic account of a funeral which strikes an effect with every phrase. Albert, a blameless, undistinguished worker in a local factory, lies in his coffin. Mary, the widow, is stunned by her loss and impervious to the vicar's well intentioned platitudes. She returns to the empty home and her attempts to preserve the domestic routine are described with remarkable insight into the plight of the bereaved woman. Unable to support her solitary existence she takes up her abode in a mausoleum beside Albert's grave. Soon, she is told to move out and embarks on an eccentric progress of living 'rough', accompanied by the garrulous 'spirit' of her dead husband. Eventually, she goes North in an attempt to recapture memories of their honeymoon. Lying on an open heath land, dreaming of Albert, she falls asleep and is sexually raped by a group of adolescent hooligans in a scene of unmitigated bestiality. After this outrage she continues on her lonely way obsessed by the fear that she is

going to have a child. Then this very original novel takes an unexpected turn. The second part is devoted to two men—Richard and Paul—who live together in a placid homo-sexual relationship. Richard dies. By purely fortuitous circumstances Paul and Mary meet and embark on a shared life. Mary still believes, though erroneously, that she is pregnant and goes through all the stages of child-birth, after which Paul takes on the role of the child who was nothing more than a figment of her disordered imagination. These and similar situations in *Albert's Memorial* are conveyed with a kind of ingenious audacity, often hovering on the brink of lewdness. Yet the approach is so crisp and finely pointed that David Cook's next novel is bound to be awaited with curiosity.

Equally grotesque yet keeping closer to probability is *The Tiny Tots* by James Balfour. Here is a light-hearted account of a legal enquiry into the activities of an abortion centre. Dr. Argyll, an insignificant medico of a type usually trodden-on, is encouraged to mount the social and professional ladder until he is in a position to form a consortium for the sole purpose of launching the clinic. The formerly 'illegal' operation is performed on a conveyor-belt system by a motley staff who fall far below the required standards. As a result, two deaths ocur. The narrative skips from one character to another in a sprightly fashion and though it has the ring of satire it edges disconcertingly close to truth.

Sometimes, a theme is so horrifying that it may be dismissed as satire when it is in fact prophetic. In his second novel, *Fugue for a Darkening Island*, Christopher Priest describes life in the South of England after the Home Counties have been invaded by African refugees fleeing from a Continent blasted by nuclear explosions. An oppressive government is in office and resistance to their retrograde policies has consolidated resistance among some sections of the electorate. Conditions parallel to those of the Congo Civil War become the norm in Southern England. The veneer of civilisation crumbles swiftly into a crude disorder while in contrast some districts preserve the ordinary way of life. The main characters on whom the story centres are a university lecturer, his estranged wife and their bewildered teenage daughter. Behind the focusing point of their personal dilemma the external crisis provides a sinister back-cloth, made even more convincing by the closure of universities, casual moral conduct and permanent pollution of the beaches. Inevitably, the story ends in tragedy and death. It must be read and re-read for its message and warning of the always possible shape of things to come.

A group of West Indian writers have established for themselves a high reputation in fiction. Chief among these is George Lamming whose *Water With Berries* is his first major publication for a decade. His style has a very individual rhythm and his dialogue follows faithfully the phonetics and structure of West Indian speech. The setting of this novel is England and concerns the problems of integration for the immigrant. The chief character, Teeton, is uncertain of himself in the country of his adoption yet he has a clear understanding of where his interests lie. At the opening, he is attempting to tell his landlady, known as the Old Dowager, that he is leaving her house. Through their initial conversation, in which both try to probe the other's defences, it is clear that they have one thing in common—a basic insecurity. George Lamming has an excellent understanding of the art of gentle comedy, but *Water With Berries* is also serious and dramatic. Death, adultery and warring personalities are its main concerns and are far more effective than the working out of a prototype Shakespearean theme which divides part of the novel into a dream sequence.

Whatever allegorical intention this development may have, it is in the relationship of Teeton and the Dowager that George Lamming is most successful:

> If the Old Dowager had, by chance, seen no criminal error in his failure to tell her the news before; then it was certain his agony would have made her discover one. But Teeton couldn't tell what she found. And when he begged her to see the innocence of his omission, he couldn't be sure what she had seen. She said nothing at all. The Old Dowager would not speak.

It is interesting to turn to a novel of an utterly different calibre—*Black List, Section H* by the Irish writer, Francis Stuart. Francis Stuart claims that the characters are real and the action based on personal experience. The hero of the novel, known as 'H', was only seventeen years old when he arrived in Dublin and met Maud Gonne, the celebrated friend of William Butler Yeats. Eventually, he married her daughter, Iseult Gonne, but their life was unsatisfactory in that it suppressed rather than released the high ideals of his literary creativity; eventually, after involvement with the Irish Civil War and other 'causes', he left his wife and children in Ireland and accepted a professorship at a Berlin university. The 1939 War had been declared a few months earlier and the picture of Germany under war-time conditions is interesting and probably unique. *Black List, Section H* is so closely-documented throughout its 400 pages that the reader scarcely realises the working out of a philosophical theme—that of a man achieving through work, sex and alcohol a state of ultimate fulfilment. Because the course of the novel closely resembles the life and observations of the author the narrative has a general inconclusiveness, rather in the D. H. Lawrence manner, although much more organised. Harry T. Moore provides a postscript and preface which does much to highlight and explain the inexplicably persistent neglect of this brilliant writer of the 'thirties', hailed in those days by many perceptive critics as a genius.

And finally, another example of auto-biographical fiction, *Glory* by Vladimir Nabokov, translated by the author's son, Dmitri. The famous author of *Lolita* here reveals himself in a gentle, ruminative mood, unravelling the problems of childhood and adolescence in a manner reminiscent of Hermann Hesse or Mauriac. The story is simple. Martin, a member of a Swiss family, is the product of a broken marriage and lives exclusively with his mother. She elects to send him to university at Cambridge rather than Geneva and the novel follows his progress there and in Germany after he has graduated. Martin's relationship with his mother is the most powerful condition of his life and, beside her, the other characters pale into insignifiance. Nabokov himself regards Martin as one of his happiest creations . . . 'the kindest, uprightest of all my young men . . .'. Although Nabokov urges that the reader shall not attempt to trace the origins of incidents and characters in his autobiography, *Speak, Memory 1966* it is hard to resist the temptation to fill in the background of this appealing novel, the last in a series of nine to be made available to the English and American reader.

***Also received***

At a time when the art of the short story is at a discount two excellent collections are particulary welcome. *A Friend of Kafka* by Isaac Bashevis Singer (Jonathan Cape £2.25), whose vignettes of Jewish characters are tolerant, perceptive and often gently amusing; and *Selected Stories* by A. E. Coppard, with an introduction by Doris Lessing (Jonathan Cape £2.50) drawn from an output of over forty years during which time A. E. Coppard established himself as an acknowledged master of the modern short story.

*The Black Oxen* by Bruce Marshall (Constable £2.20). Five former Army officers are embarking on civilian careers after the 1914-1918 War. This long, excellent detailed novel traces their personal lives over a period of fifty years.

*The Return* by James Ambrose Brown (Macdonald £1.95). A satisfying novel with a most unusual setting—the period is between 1904-22 when hundreds of homeless men and women wandered over the largely uninhabited plains of South West Africa. *The Return* has received an award in the Republic of South Africa's Festival Programme.

*A Cold Front* by Bridget Everitt (Peter Davies £2). A first novel of special quality with an original 'suspense' background. A brisk, economical style deepens a situation of unusual horror.

*The Goodby People* by Gavin Lambert (Andre Deutsch £1.75). The three sections must be described as long-short stories. The third of these is perhaps the least effective but all three are well worth reading for the unusual picture of California and the 'hippy' or 'flower' people.

## MASTER CIVIL SERVANT

*Hankey, Man of Secrets, Vol. II (1919-31)*. Stephen Roskill. Collins, £5.00.

In this second volume Stephen Roskill describes Hankey as 'an artist, not only in the handling of men, but in the manipulation of the machinery of government of a vast Empire'. This is the kind of eulogy usually reserved for great statesmen, but this author chooses his words carefully, and believe it, or not, they apply to a highly professional civil servant. The late and beloved Air Marshal Sir William Elliot put his finger on another quality of Hankey when he writes: 'I learnt from Hankey the *importance of discovering and recognizing the problem*—a form of instruction in which the Service Staff Colleges were very deficient'. Lord Casey, when acting as special emissary of the Prime Minister of Australia in 1924 came to regard Hankey 'as my father and mother, who make my task possible of achievement'. So one might continue, because this great public servant became the 'intellectual valet' (his own words) to Asquith, Balfour, Lloyd George, Baldwin and Ramsay Macdonald. He was least successful with Baldwin, because Tom Jones, his assistant and a great amateur civil servant, took over and even wrote his speeches. Anyway Baldwin's interest lay in domestic policy; Lloyd George was Hankey's hero, though Ramsay Macdonald used Hankey and admired him.

For personal reasons, I regret that Stephen Roskill ends this volume at the year 1931, because like many others I wanted to form an estimate of Lord Hankey's influence over the decisive years of the 'Thirties'. But the author has good reasons for delaying the final phase and recording it in Vol. III, mainly because under the thirty year rule fresh evidence will be available. Any good biographer must have a high respect for his 'subject'; it is just possible that Stephen Roskill over-estimates the central position in British politics held by Lord Hankey. This possible error in judgment must, however, be set side by side with the fascinating and detailed description of the part Hankey played in the background of foreign policy and defence under Lloyd George, Baldwin and Ramsay Macdonald. The master-historian unfolds from new as well as familiar sources a devastating commentary on the 'Twenties'.

In one sense the criticism so widely directed against the leaders in the 'Thirties', especially in such maliciously written books as a 'Pattern of Rulers' by the late Lord Francis Williams (1965), might well be moved back to the 'Twenties'.

But of course this would not suit the critics. They would have to consider, inter alia, other facts including Lloyd George's post-war policy; Churchill's five years as Chancellor of the Exchequer and his onslaught on Service Estimates, especially the Admiralty; the notorious Ten Years Rule (the assumption that there need be no more war for ten years) started by Lloyd George and perpetuated by Churchill, fanned by the 'Locarno Spirit' and the disarmament lobby, headed by Lord Robert Cecil. I can remember that when I came to the Admiralty as Civil Lord in 1935, there was still talk of the 'miserable rule' as Hankey called it. Before 1933 Hankey wrote to Vansittart that 'we were living in a fool's paradise'. One has also to remember that there was a tide flowing very strongly in favour of peace throughout the country, particularly in the Labour Party in both the 'Twenties' and 'Thirties'. Witness the constant and fruitless attempts made by Hankey to get a decision made about Singapore Dock. When I went out to inspect the dock in 1936, some progress had been made, but the guns were pointing in the wrong direction. As Roskill records: Churchill wrote to Baldwin in 1924 that the Admiralty policy in the Far East was 'provocative'. 'Why should there be a war with Japan, there is not the slightest chance of it in our lifetime'.

One is tempted to ask two final questions. How far can statesmen plan ahead in a modern democracy and secondly how effective is the machinery of government, even with first-class civil servants? The burdens of government show every sign of increasing. Hankey's power of endurance amazed Ministers and colleagues alike: Stephen Roskill explains that this was due to 'his temperamental tranquillity, his abstemiousness and physical fitness and perhaps above all to the love and support he received from his wife'.

We now await Volume III.

KENNETH LINDSAY

## A NEW INTERPRETATION OF FOX

*Charles James Fox.* John W. Derry. Batsford. £5.00.

Misrepresentation and misunderstanding of Charles James Fox has resulted from failure to appreciate that eighteenth century politics were widely dissimilar from those of the present era. To be correctly judged Fox must be placed firmly in the context of the mid-eighteenth century setting, and it is this background picture that Dr. Derry has been at pains to elaborate. By so doing he has dispersed much of the mythological mist that has engulfed Fox since Victorian days, and the figure that emerges is one of a resourceful and ambitious politician challenging the constitutional framework which he would have so much liked to change.

The eighteenth century House of Commons represented 'interests' (landed property, professions, army, navy) and not numbers. The party system on a national scale, as we know it today, was non-existent. There was no systematic or formed opposition but merely groups of members, united largely by friendship and kinship. The uniqueness of Fox's position was that he advocated party in the modern sense as a bulwark against what he wrongly supposed was the increasing influence of the crown. Furthermore he supported a greater degree of cabinet responsibility and a bigger say by the cabinet in the choice of the First Lord of the Treasury. Because there was no formed parliamentary opposition, complete changes of ministries did not take place as today; all that happened was a re-shuffle with the appointment to ministerial posts of leading members from other groups in the house.

The author disclaims any attempt to give a complete narrative of Fox's life and times, yet there is enough on personal matters to provide the reader with a true picture of the man, his weaknesses, strength, charm, youthful waywardness, and the mellowness that graced his later years. Dr. Derry is more concerned with the principal themes of Fox's career as a parliamentarian —his championship of America, his breach with Shelburne, the coalition with North, relations with William Pitt, and his attitude towards the French Revolution. The Fox-North coalition, of which history books make so much fuss, is placed squarely in its context. It did not offend contemporary taste because it violated normal practice, inasmuch as all ministries at that time were coalition ministries, i.e. associations of a number of groups owing their loyalty to the king himself. Public opinion was shocked at this particular coalition because of the means it adopted to retain power, and its fall was due to errors of judgment, closely related to the India bill, that aroused the hostility of the House of Commons.

However much critics inveighed against Fox because of his private life and political views, all agreed on the distinctive merit of his oratory. And in spite of the vitriolic diatribes he made in the Commons against certain members he refused to carry public disagreement and rancour into private intercourse. His denunciation in the House of Commons of Lord North did not affect his personal relationship outside. This attitude went for all men except the Younger Pitt whom he could never forgive for the events of 1783-84.

Fox's approach to parliamentary reform was essentially traditionalist; he was no democrat in the sense of extending the franchise. All he advocated was a redistribution of seats since it was clear that such rotten boroughs as Dunwich, Old Sarum, and others represented no 'interest' whatsoever. Even the Whigs of 1832 were more concerned with redistribution than with franchise enlargement. Fox spent most of his political life in opposition; he could on several occasions have had office but he would not serve under Pitt. Moreover George III would not accept him till 1806 when as foreign secretary in Grenville's ministry he achieved one of his lifelong ambitions, the abolition of the slave trade.

Dr. Derry has written a book of outstanding merit which really puts Fox into proper perspective; the last word will of course never be said about such a controversial character as Fox, but this fine, new interpretation is likely to remain an authority for years to come.

S. F. WOOLLEY

## NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY

*The New Cambridge Modern History: Vol. VI. The Rise of Great Britain and Russia, 1688-1715/25.* (Edited by J. S. Bromley). Cambridge University Press.

The New Cambridge Modern History series is to the historian as the concordance is to the theologian. The series cannot, and is not intended to replace more detailed studies of any period covered just as a concordance is not designed to replace the Bible but to aid in its understanding. The sixth volume, dealing with the period 1688 to 1715 is as well organised and well written as its companion volumes, and provides a useful historical concordance.

The period under consideration is marked, roughly speaking, by two major trends, namely the 'Protestant Revolution' in England and, by European standards, the more important side-effects of heightened English participation in continental affairs under William III. The second major trend is the changing condition of Eastern Europe caused by the decline in Turkish and

rise in Russian and Austrian power. The collection of studies which make up the volume deal with these two trends from many various points of view, for example economic, religious, military, diplomatic, cultural, scientific and constitutional. Other problems such as Anglo-French colonial enterprises in America, the decline of Sweden and Bourbon attempts to solidify the power of Madrid in Spain are not neglected. But the main emphasis of the volume, as outlined by its editor in the Introduction, is on the problem of Turkey-in-Europe.

Broadly speaking, Turkish power in Europe began to decline, in this period, to the advantage of rising Austrian and Russian ambition and power. The competition of these two great powers to control the area now known as 'Eastern Europe' may be argued to be the major theme of European history for the last two hundred and fifty years. It is a theme finally resolved by the dissolution of the Austrian Empire after the First World War and the establishment, finally, of Russian supremacy over the disputed territories after the Second. Significantly, in the period covered by this volume, Austria began to establish her control over Hungary and Russia saw the visit of Peter the Great to 'the West' and the building of its new capital in St. Petersburg. Of the many themes and threads which are to be found in European history since the end of the seventeenth century, the problem of Russia is, arguably, one of the most important, at least from a diplomatic point of view. The Russian problem, like many others, owes its origins, to a very large extent, to the period between 1688 and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1715.

The sixth volume of the New Cambridge Modern History provides the general reader and the student of history with a worthwhile and solid review of the period. It is fully the equal of other volumes in the series.

J. E. B. MUNSON

## WHAT IS COINCIDENCE?

*The Roots of Coincidence*. Arthur Koestler. Hutchinson, £2.
*Magic: An Occult Primer*. David Conway. Jonathan Cape. £5.

The irresistible force *has*, it would seem, at long last met the immovable body, and in the resultant twin dissolution those two irreconcilables, physics and psychics, have become oddly annealed. That, much simplified, is the curious situation-report presented by Arthur Koestler's new book, *The Roots of Coincidence*. By psychics, you must understand, Mr. Koestler does not mean the butter-muslin bogies of the fraudulent séance-room. What he does mean are the rationally inexplicable vagaries of extrasensory perception. The Tom Tiddler's ground upon which irresistible forces perform figurative arabesques with immovable bodies is that still-murky terrain where scientific probability meanders off into thickets of synchronicity, cause-and-effect gaps, and the logical paradox of the statistical reliability of chance. Mr. Koestler begins by providing an unusually clear summation of the experimental evidence supporting the validity of precognition, psychokinesis and, particularly, telepathy, and in the process underlines the curious predictability of the unpredictable. He then proceeds to demonstrate the unpredictability of the predictable—or rather what, according to the rules and rational assumptions of physical laws, should conform, but does not necessarily do so.

Modern physics, as he points out, describe a universe which is, anyway, immaterial, for matter itself may disintegrate beyond electron, proton and neutron into an ultimate sub-atomic, cosmic swirl of entities which no man has

ever sensorily experienced, but which, with a faith tantamount to the wildest credulities of the 'convinced' parapsychologist, he has named quarks. Indeed, the hunting of the quark is a sort of Carrollian lab game.

Such excursions to the wilder shores of modern physics, where ghostly neutrinos are, and mindons and psychons may be, and the waters which wash upon them arise from the realms of sub-atomic and super-galactic dimension, give very serious pause to the realistic physicist in the nineteenth-century sense. Now, it is the world bedded on the relativity and quantum theory matrix that turns to a quicksand of impossibles, and, finally, the question has to be asked —is the apparent disparity between the immutable laws of physics and the uncodified laws of psychics no more than a consequence of the biological limitation of the percipient? May it not be that it is those perceptual limitations of ours which 'condemn us to the role of Peeping Toms at the keyhole of eternity'?

From Mr. Koestler's *The Roots of Coincidence* to David Conway's *Magic: An Occult Primer* is an easy transition.

Like Mr. Koestler, Mr. Conway is concerned to demonstrate the actual compatibility of popularly held incompatibles—in this case the theories of magic and the postulates of science. And, having read Mr. Koestler's book, the mind is that much more attuned to Mr. Conway's propositions.

Magic, says Mr. Conway, offers the most effective way of making contact with those transcendental realities which exist in a dimension inaccessible to the senses. *Here* is the keyhole to eternity. *This* is the key that will fit it and open the door. No need to remain a Peeping Tom.

The emphasis of the work is on practical occultism. The first part of the book supplies a lucid and enthrallingly interesting exposition of magical theory. The second, and major, part discusses magical practice. It gives the intending mage precise and detailed instructions as to the necessary preparations which he must make before attempting a magic ritual, and tells him the time, the place and the method. Then, step by step, two master rituals are described—the kabbalistic and the Egyptian. The book is, as the title indicates, intended merely as a primer, and deals therefore only with 'low' magic, that is magic whose rituals are dedicated to the attainment of specific ends—such as curing warts or making money. Mr. Conway believes that 'for those who long for immortality, for those who through meditation, drugs or ESP have intimations of it, this book reveals the shortest and surest path towards fulfilment'.

But, wisely, he warns . . . if you happen to be a very nervous person you should keep clear of all forms of occultism.

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

## 'TUBBY' OF TOC H

*Clayton of Toc H.* Sir Tresham Lever. Murray. £3.

When Dr. P. B. ('Tubby') Clayton retired from All Hallows, Tower Hill, in 1962 at 73 he rounded off a remarkable life-work launched at Poperinghe in 1915. Australian-born son of a cattle farmer who later set up business in London, he went to St. Paul's School and Oxford, then was ordained. His great opportunity came when he served as a padre in the Ypres Salient. He and Neville Talbot, son of the Bishop of Winchester, decided to look for a house that would make a 'homely club' for troops passing through. They found one at Poperinghe with an upper room that would serve as chapel and called it Talbot House (Toc H) in honour of Neville's brother Gilbert, killed at Hooge. It became world-famous.

Sir Tresham tells poignant stories of Tubby's ministrations there and in adjacent sectors, and the solace the house afforded to men reprieved from the trenches. In one hot sector where some 18 men had received Communion he heard that four signallers could not leave their exposed, heavily shelled post. He at once went there, and while he was ministering to them in the open a huge shell burst with a deafening roar only a few feet away. There were other narrow shaves, for 'Clayton never acquired shell sense, that intuition born of experience which told you when and where the next shell would fall'.

Post-war, he organised an Ordination Test School for ex-service candidates in Knutsford's disused gaol, then searched London for a house to perpetuate Toc H ideals, 'achieve a new spirit between man and man' and spread its mission overseas. This aim he fulfilled during his forty years at All Hallows and on journeys abroad. But his travels concerned not only Toc H. At Kano, Nigeria, he was appalled by conditions at its leper colony. 'Here there were human beings without hope, some without limbs and many of them blind', he recorded. 'Some of them gasped and cried aloud for water. Others were like the witches in Macbeth stirring their evening meal; women among them clutched enfeebled children to their breasts. From that time onward leprosy became a nightmare in my mind without redress . . .' The outcome was his work for African Leprosy Relief.

Sir Tresham, in this earnestly written biography, pays due tribute to Dr. Clayton's fine qualities but is not blind to his all-too-human faults. He was 'difficult, awkward, unpredictable', liable to fly off the handle—and be instantly sorry for it. Convinced that he had been chosen by God to do His work, he could take liberties with men to advance it. He was a tiresome saint, 'but so was St. Paul, whom he much resembled'. With one or two exceptions, he made small impact on women; many found him difficult in the home.

Doubtless he has expiated these failings in his contemplative retirement—or possibly found a defiant pride in them since they helped to make the priest a man among men?

TREVOR ALLEN

## THE SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE

*Earthquake: the Destruction of San Francisco.* Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan-Witts. Souvenir Press, £2.50.

One of the grimmest disasters on record was the earthquake that struck San Francisco in the early morning of April 18, 1906. The resulting fires raged over 4.7 square miles, over 28,000 buildings were destroyed, whole communities decimated, 350,000 homeless had to be fed. The total loss was between 350m. and 500m. dollars, the difference being made up mainly by about 80 per cent of the 229m. dollars insurance which was finally paid.

The authors, who quote these figures, relate the whole three-day drama in almost hour-by-hour reportage, focussing it through individual experiences as in their account of the Mount Pelée eruption, *The Day their World Ended.* This documentary, filmic technique take the reader right into the scene; everything is happening around him. But the method has its pitfalls. Sources are rarely indicated. At one point the authors refer to 'the mythology surrounding the disaster' and one wonders if, at times, it has not crept into their narrative.

A strange story concerns Caruso, who was singing opera there at the time, congratulating himself on having escaped a recent Vesuvius eruption that menaced his Naples home. When the big rip came his conductor, Hertz, found

him in his Palace Hotel suite 'bolt upright in bed, clutching at his night shirt with both hands . . . a figure as pitiable as any he had ever portrayed on stage.' Fearful that the shock had harmed his voice, he was persuaded to go to the open window and try it out. In the street below people had fled from their rooms without stopping to dress, many nearly naked; a woman in a night-gown carried a baby by its legs 'as if it were a trussed turkey.'

Over this tragic scene Caruso sang at the top of his voice *La fanta mi salva, L'immondo ritrova.* . . . People stopped talking, stared up. A hotel guest said his voice was electrifying, the 'bravest and best performance he had ever given'—to help allay the panic. Eventually, to get on the ferry to Oakland he had to sing again—to convince a sceptical official that he *was* Caruso.

Another strange sight, in doomed Chinatown, was a huge, tawny bull, bloodstained, bellowing with pain and fright, being slashed with knives and pelted with stones by a panic-stricken mob crying 'Bull, go back! Your brothers need you under the world!' The animal evidently incarnated their belief that the world was supported on the backs of four bulls, and this one, by deserting his post, had caused the earth to tremble.

There are graphic accounts of fire-fighting without water, the shooting and bayonetting of looters and other offenders by the army which had been called in, the risk of plague from Chinatown's swarming rats, the subsequent exposures and scandals of administration. It is small comfort to learn that the fateful San Andreas Fault that caused the 'quake could erupt again any time, and that the city, heedless of the danger, maintains a Disaster Corps Director constantly ready to cope with it. Presumably, the hippies who infest the place, the builders of vulnerable skyscrapers, could not care less.

TREVOR ALLEN

# SHORTER REVIEWS

**Budapest 1956** (Allen & Unwin, £4.25). This penetrating 'history of the Hungarian Revolution' has been written by Miklos Molnar, a former managing editor of the Hungarian writers' journal, *Literary Gazette*, who witnessed the uprising and who, since in exile, has researched into an enormous amount of material, as well as interviewing eye witnesses, upon the events of 1956. He quite rightly makes no claim to a definitive history, although endeavouring to present an objective account while retaining his liberal outlook and personal attachments to people such as the central figure in this tragic story, Imre Nagy. 'I have tried to present the pluralist character of the revolution and of the political, social and national motivating forces.' He starts with the death of Stalin and the liberalising and economic reforms in 1953/4 under Imre Nagy, himself installed at the head of the government with Russian support. He lost power in 1955 to the old Communist Stalinists, when reaction set in. Mr. Molnar stresses the importance of the 1953-54 policy which 'foreshadowed the revolutionary situation of 1956'. He gives a detailed account of the national revolt on the 23rd October 1956. Nagy was brought back to head the new government as the only acceptable national leader in the crisis, with initial Russian military support. 'For reasons which are still unknown the Soviet Government virtually abandoned the Hungarian Communist Party after October 27th or 28th . . . At present it is impossible to solve this problem'. There was a brief 154 hours of independence before the Russians overran Hungary in overwhelming strength, seized Nagy and replaced him by Kadar. Reading this

account, it becomes clear that Nagy never had a chance to persevere with a second reformist policy, involving a status of international neutrality. During his short spell of office, he represented the varying groups of opposition to the old regime, but all deeply divided politically among themselves. He could rely upon no powerfully organised political movement behind him, and he was bitterly opposed by the former communist leaders whom he had ousted. Yet Mr. Molnar declares that in the long run the events of 1956 have led to some degree of liberalisation and will continue to do so. He wrote this book before the Czechoslovakia struggle in 1968 but refers to it in the foreword to this English edition. 'If the "Spring of Prague" was possible despite the lesson of 1956 this is only additional proof of my theory, i.e., that the trend working against the present system of domination and administration in East and Central Europe cannot be resisted.'

**An Assemblage of Nineteenth Century Horses and Carriages from the Original Sketches by the late William Frances Freelove** (Perpetua Press, £1.95). Jennifer Lang has brought together a delightful book depicting an important aspect of the Victorian scene. Railways there were; but of course for the ordinary delivery of goods and for social matters the Victorians were dependent upon the horse-drawn vehicle. William Frances Freelove was a young solicitor's clerk who, being fascinated by the great variety of horse-drawn vehicles and their uses, made water colour sketches of them all seen around London to amuse his children. This developed into a serious hobby, and by 1873 he had a book of over seventy sketches. Eventually it was found in a family attic and is now reproduced with an excellent and erudite Introduction by Miss Lang. A few vehicles may still be remembered by some, such as the coal and milk carts. Many others, including the skin cart, the road scraper and mud cart, the glass bottle van, the pleasure van and the basket chaise, suggest the wealth of sociological material in this slim volume. In addition the details of costumes and locality add to the interest. The paper for the sketches, reproduced in colour, 'has been specially made to closely match the paper on which the originals were drawn'. Altogether it is a fascinating publication.

**Art and Architecture in Venice** (Sidgwick & Jackson, £1.50). Mr. Ronald Shaw-Kennedy has produced a very conveniently arranged guide to the art treasures of Venice. It is a handy hardback volume which should appeal both to the new and experienced visitors. There are, of course, notes on buildings and architecture; but the main purpose is to describe and locate the pictures and sculptures. 'Every picture of any merit is to be found here, with brief but adequate comments.' In short the guide is designed to 'take with you when you are sightseeing, to look into at the church door and to guide you round the walls'. The chief section contains an alphabetical account of the main churches, galleries, etc., with a description of the works of art inside. This is related to a map which shows the general location of these buildings. Unfortunately the map does not show the reader how to get from one to another. There is also an index which covers the works of artists, sculptors and architects. Mr. Shaw-Kennedy also usefully provides lists of the most important churches and palaces to be seen in a few days. There are also short chapters on the history of Venice and of Venetian art. Forty-eight black and white photographs complete a worthwhile comprehensive concise guide to be known as 'The Venice in Peril Guide'. Lord Norwich, chairman of the Venice in Peril Fund, has written a brief foreword.

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## CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

### by Sydney D. Bailey

PRESIDENT Nixon's visit to China symbolised the beginning of the third phase of China's emergence from isolation. This isolation was not, in the first instance, of China's choosing. When the government of the Chinese People's Republic was established in 1949, it was widely believed in the United States that America had somehow 'lost' China. I heard it said many times that no people, given a free choice, would choose Communism. A Communist regime had nevertheless been established in Peking, and this, in the official American view, could only be explained as the forced imposition of an unwanted system. The United States refused to recognise the new government, cut off trade and other relations, and expected that in due course the will of the Chinese people would prevail and the Communist government would collapse.

This enforced isolation was later exacerbated by the Sino-Soviet split, first on an ideological basis between the two parties, but later on an inter-State basis. The split led to extravagant polemics and fierce competition for influence on or control of the world Communist movement. The Chinese government and people were greatly disturbed by the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the subsequent enunciation of the Brezhnev doctrine. Would the doctrine be used in the future to justify Soviet intervention in China? The 1968 events in Czechoslovakia have been referred to several times recently in arguments with the Soviet Union in U.N. organs. During the debate in the Security Council last December on the war in what is now Bangla Desh, Ambassador Huang Hua referred several times to Soviet 'aggression' in Czechoslovakia.

> 'What you did was not rendering assistance to a socialist country. In the darkness of the night you dispatched your planes, air force and paratroopers to control [Czechoslovakia's] capital city. You brought by force the leaders of Czechoslovakia to Moscow and forced them to sign your most humiliating conditions.'

The Cultural Revolution had the effect of carrying China's isolation a stage further, as the energies of the people were directed to internal

problems. With the defeat of the ultra-leftists in August 1968, it became possible to convene a party congress the following April, and China then embarked on the path back to normalcy in its internal affairs and external relations. For the first year and a half thereafter, China gradually resumed normal and correct relations with those countries which had already recognised the Peking government. In the second phase, the 15-month period beginning in October 1970, China established relations with 23 additional countries and reopened the embassy in Tunis. On January 1, 1972, China had diplomatic relations with 70 U.N. members and seven non-U.N. governments or governments in exile.

In the U.N. General Assembly in 1970, there was for the first time a simple majority in favour of seating Peking, and in 1971 just over a two-thirds majority. An East European diplomat was heard to comment wrily: 'we have suffered a great victory'. The Chinese delegation formally took its seat on November 15. At an earlier period, Chinese leaders had spoken of pre-conditions which would have to be satisfied if China were ever to take its seat in the U.N., but when it came to the crunch, the only pre-condition was the disappearance of the Chinese Nationalists from the U.N. scene.

> On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China [said Deputy Foreign Minister Chiao in his maiden speech to the U.N.], I hereby reiterate that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory, and the United States armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits cannot in the least alter the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China over Taiwan. . . .

Since the establishment of the new government in Peking in 1949, there has always been a contrast between the militancy of Chinese words and the restraint of Chinese deeds. This contradiction soon became evident in China's U.N. posture. No sooner had the Chinese delegation taken its seat than war broke out in what was then East Pakistan. The Chinese delegates uttered impeccable sentiments about the rights of self-determination for the Palestinians and those living under colonial or racist regimes. At the same time, China was in favour of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan. China wanted to ensure non-intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs. China condemned India's aggression. India was harbouring Tibetan refugees and 'grooming the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary rebels, the Dalai Lama'. India's purpose was to gain control of the sub-continent and the Indian Ocean; this was 'a flanking movement to affect the situation in the Middle East. . . .' Moreover, India had been supported by social imperialism, that is to say, the Soviet Union. 'How can a super-Power defy the opinion of well over 100 countries and behave so arrogantly and truculently?' China opposed the hegemony and power politics practised by certain super-Powers. The Chinese nation was fully capable of standing on its own feet, but China would at no time, 'either today or ever in the future', become a super-Power. 'China belongs to the Third World'.

China in the U.N. and other international organisations will have to speak and vote on issues which were previously of marginal or no interest, or could be dealt with by editorials in newspapers or communiqués issued

jointly with visiting delegations. Chinese diplomacy will never be the same again, but neither will the United Nations. The Chinese Nationalists were, in a sense, clients of the United States. The People's Republic of China is nobody's client or puppet. China is one of the five States with permanent membership of the Security Council and the right of veto on substantive proposals. China has always 'counted' in international politics, but now it will have to stand up and be counted.

In her future relations with the United States, China will doubtless assert her claim for equality, not only the legal equality of another sovereign State but also the equality of another power with nuclear weapons. In concrete terms, China will seek to expedite the military withdrawal of the United States from the Far East and South East Asia. The Chinese know as much as the rest of us about the mood of disenchantment regarding direct military involvement in South East Asia which began to make itself felt in the United States in 1968, and they can see the connection between this mood and President Nixon's doctrine of burden-sharing, first enunciated at Guam in July 1969.

For the United States, the Presidential visit to China marked the end of the simplistic view that insurgency against established regimes in Asia was due to external forces, and a recognition that nationalism is a major threat to the status quo. The United States is committed to gradual military disengagement from South East Asia.

It was to be expected that the United States would adjust its commitments to the Nationalists on Taiwan. There are now some 8,700 non-combat U.S. troops on the island, and these can be run down as U.S. military involvement in South East Asia diminishes. The one surprise in the communiqué issued after the Nixon visit related to Taiwan.

> With the prospect in mind [of a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves, the United States] affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all United States forces and military installations. . . . In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and installations . . . as the tension in the area diminishes.

The Mutual Defence Treaty of 1955 between the United States and the Nationalists remains in force, although it does not apply to the offshore Quemoy and Matsu islands which are still occupied by the Nationalists.

The Nationalists have all along claimed to represent China, but now the more modest claim to represent the people of Taiwan is in question. There are unmistakable signs of the growth of an independence movement in Taiwan, independent not only of the Communists but also of the Nationalists. Taiwan is one of the most prosperous parts of Asia, and there is no economic incentive to unite with the Mainland.

The Chinese are deeply suspicious of Japan's intentions about Taiwan. The American military presence in Asia could always be regarded as a short-term phenomenon, necessary at the end of a world war, but Japan is always a near neighbour, and contemporary Japan is growing in economic and political confidence. Perhaps for China the most prudent tactic about Taiwan is simply to wait; after all, President Chiang is older than Chairman Mao.

Perhaps the Chinese exaggerate Japan's present military strength, but Japan is potentially a very powerful country in both economic and military terms, and has the capacity to make her own nuclear weapons. An editorial in the Peking *People's Daily* (September 18, 1971) put the matter in classic determinist language:

> An 'economic power' is bound to become a 'military power', and economic expansion definitely leads to military expansion. This is an inexorable law of development of Japanese militarism.

The general tone of the Nixon-Sato communiqué of November 1969, and Prime Minister Sato's repeated references to the need for a continued United States military presence in the Far East, as well as the specific references to Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, and Okinawa, caused considerable uneasiness in Peking. What did Sato mean when he said that 'Japan was exploring what role she could play in bringing about stability in the Indo-China area'? What did Sato mean when he affirmed that 'the security of countries in the Far East was a matter of serious concern for Japan'? What did Sato mean when he said that following the reversion of Okinawa to Japan, Japan would assume 'responsibility for the immediate defence of Okinawa as part of Japan's defence efforts for her own territories'? And above all, what did Nixon and Sato mean when they agreed that the United States should retain in Okinawa 'such military facilities [nuclear?] and areas . . . as required . . .'?

Since the Sato-Nixon meeting, there has been a marked deterioration in U.S.-Japanese relations. The lack of prior consultation over the Kissinger trip to Peking and Nixon's fiscal package to ease the dollar crisis last August brought relations to a low point. It was only after great pressure that Japan was persuaded to vote for the U.S. proposal in the General Assembly for a 'Peking plus Taipeh' solution, which, of course, failed by a narrow margin. Japan, in effect, now has three foreign policy options: to seek a rapprochement with China, to pursue a Tokyo-Moscow axis to balance a possible Washington-Peking detente, or to continue the post-war policy of close relations with Washington, come what may.

Sino-Soviet relations have become so bad that there have been moments when it has seemed as if the angry war of words might escalate to a major war of weapons. China has challenged Moscow's claim to be the headquarters of world Communism and has encouraged polycentrism. The Chinese have not forgotten Khrushchev's erratic combination of brinkmanship and detente. The border between the two countries, much of it inherited from Tsarist times, is 4,500 miles in length. There are thought to be some 33 Soviet divisions in the Sino-Soviet border area, and some intermediate and medium range missiles cover targets in China. The clash along the Ussuri River in 1969 reached dangerous proportions, and there were even hints of a possible Soviet pre-emptive nuclear strike.

The tension between the two Communist giants no doubt explains Soviet suggestions for an Asian collective security system (which would exclude China), the positive response of East European Governments to Chancellor Brandt's *ostpolitik*, the so-called 'peace offensive' by the Soviet

Union in 1971 (would there were more peace offensives!), the Soviet treaties of friendship with Egypt (May 28, 1971) and India (August 9, 1971), and the strong Soviet support for India (matching China's support for Pakistan) throughout the 1971 crisis and war which culminated in the emergence of an independent Bangla Desh. The two Soviet treaties are especially interesting because their purpose may be not only to counter-balance a detente between Washington and Peking, but also to exert restraint on Egypt and India. Treaties are often designed to control allies rather than to frighten adversaries.

It remains to be seen how China will use her opportunities in the U.N. In the Security Council meetings in Addis Ababa earlier this year, China predictably spoke and voted for the liberation of people under colonial or racist rule. It was less predictable what posture China would adopt at the U.N.C.T.A.D. meeting convened in Chile on April 13. But it is over arms control and disarmament that the greatest question-mark hangs.

China has become an independent nuclear power almost entirely by her own efforts. She has been making weapons-grade uranium for nearly 10 years, almost certainly by the difficult gaseous diffusion process in a plant at Lanchow, and is also producing plutonium. The International Institute for Strategic Studies has estimated that China was producing enough nuclear material in the middle of 1971 to provide war-heads for 120 nuclear devices a year. China conducted her thirteenth nuclear test on January 7, 1972. She has already conducted test missile firings in the 1,500-2,000 mile range, and will probably be able to test in the I.C.B.M. range (inter-continental) during the course of the next 12 months or so. This represents faster progress than was achieved by any of the other four nuclear powers.

Mao's dictum that the nuclear weapon is a paper tiger probably means no more than that particular weapons do not alter the fundamental laws of dialectical and historical materialism. Politics remain pre-eminent. But China has devoted enormous resources to developing her own paper tigers, and she believes that this is necessary to prevent nuclear blackmail and ensure peace. In a statement last January, the Chinese Government declared that it was testing nuclear weapons 'for the purpose of breaking the nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail by the two super-Powers'. In an earlier statement, China claimed to be developing nuclear weapons in order to achieve their final elimination. The argument that it is necessary to develop nuclear weapons in order to eliminate them has a familiar ring.

The Chinese disarmament policy is simple, desirable, and unattainable. China stands for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China will 'at no time and in no circumstances be the first' to use them. If the other nuclear powers 'really and truly want disarmament', they should also commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. China favours the convening of a world summit conference to consider nuclear disarmament. All the lesser steps of nuclear arms control (the partial test ban, the non-proliferation treaty,

the banning of nuclear weapons from Antarctica, outer space, and the sea-bed, the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) are, in the Chinese view, spurious and represent collusion by the two super-Powers to deceive the peoples and maintain their nuclear monopoly.

China has so far expressed no public wish to join the Geneva negotiating committee, which is under the joint chairmanship of the United States and the Soviet Union. China has rejected the Soviet proposal made last June for a conference of the five nuclear powers to consider nuclear disarmament, on the ground that this is a matter of concern not just to five nuclear powers but to all States. China has also said that the 'necessary pre-requisites' for convening a world disarmament conference are, first, that the two super-powers should state, either separately or jointly, that they will at no time and in no circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons; and, secondly, that they should state that they will dismantle foreign nuclear bases and withdraw to their own countries all nuclear armed forces, as well as nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

It is to be expected that China's stance on particular questions which may come before the U.N. Security Council or General Assembly will on occasion seem awkward or obstructive both to Western countries and to the Soviet Union. The U.N. has already experienced a variety of cold wars and has survived. But it is of vital importance, if we are to achieve a greater measure of international peace and security, that China should participate fully and on an equal basis in international consideration of such fundamental questions as arms control and disarmament, peace-making and peace-keeping. This is a major challenge for the U.N. Assembly when it convenes in September.

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[Sydney Bailey is Chairman of the Department of International Affairs of the British Council of Churches and of the Conference of British Missionary Societies. He has served in China with the Friends Ambulance Unit.]

# WHICH WAY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST?

## by Andrew Faulds, M.P.

ONE of the most spectacular results of the 1967 June War was not the speed with which the Israeli forces defeated the armies of the surrounding Arab states, but the emergence of the Palestinian nationalist movement. Since June 1967 the growing strength of this movement has been a vibrant force, not only of concern to the Israelis but also not without consequences inside certain Arab states.

It is now widely held that any peace settlement must be based on terms which the Palestinians themselves accept, perhaps through negotiations as proposed on a number of occasions by Lord Caradon, the former British representative at the United Nations and one of the authors of the famous U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 which set down the guide lines for a political settlement.

The use of violence always strikes a feeling of abhorrence amongst those who do not experience the frustration and humiliation of oppression. It is ironical, perhaps, that while few people would condone the armed struggle of resistance groups, such as Al Fatah, their thinking on the Middle East issue and growing consciousness of injustice is often a consequence of this activity.

Twenty-three years have passed since the Palestinians first lost their homeland with the establishment of the state of Israel, which followed the British mandate. It took the emergence of an armed force—the Palestinian commandos—to make many people realise that the fundamental issue at stake in this conflict is not a matter of territorial rights, but simply one of fundamental human and civil rights.

Contrary to the alleged threat to stability, the Palestinian renaissance, which has grown through the liberation movement, provides perhaps the greatest step towards co-existence of Jews and Muslims since the establishment of Israel.

The major question which has to be answered is whether the Jewish people are ready to recognise these important changes. For the first time, the basis for a settlement is being voiced by the Palestinians.

Although Israelis defend their actions by claims that they are the people of Palestine, the contemporary Zionist movement is, itself, a recent development. It is a political rather than religious phenomenon. In 1897, a Viennese lawyer named Theodore Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress in Basle, to present his proposals for *Der Jufdenstaat*—The Jewish State. In fact, he accepted that he reluctantly advocated the establishment of a State for the Jews as the only solution to anti-semitism in Europe. He suggested Palestine or Argentina as possible locations for his state.

It is perhaps ironical that, while the Arab peoples have suffered so greatly from the suggestion that they are anti-semitic, it was in fact our own failure to combat anti-semitism in Europe that led to the conflict in

Palestine today. It is a fact that while Europe was persecuting the Jews, in the Arab world they enjoyed greater security and tolerance. Charles Douglas Home, in his book *The Arabs and Israel* notes:

> The history of Jewish communities in the Arab world is not half so terrible as the history of Jewish tribulation at the hand of Christian and Communist European societies. It is fair to say that Jewish communities have probably flourished culturally and commercially with considerably more security in the Arab world over the last twenty centuries than they have in Europe.

Many of the historical or biblical claims of the Zionists are not relevant to the conflict. They make no contribution to seeking some solution based on justice for all communities. Yet, the fact that they are so often used by supporters of Israel, in defence of the rights of the international Jewish community to settle in Palestine, forces some comment. It is difficult to accept that any person has 'historic rights' to occupy a land, particularly if their re-settlement is at the expense of the indigenous population. If the Jewish people have the 'historic right' which they claim, we cannot overlook the 'rights' of the Palestinian Muslims and Christians who continuously held the country from A.D. 323 until the British occupation in 1917-1918.

The use of the Old Testament to defend their actions and to assert their 'right' to Palestine is equally difficult to accept. The first explicit promise of Palestine to the descendants of Abraham, wrote one Zionist professor, was in Genesis: 'Unto thy seed will I give this land'. Yet, of course, the Jews are not the only descendants of Abraham. The Zionist contention that, on the authority of the divine promises recorded in the Old Testament, Palestine belongs to all Jews and to Jews alone, is contradicted by two facts: first, that many non-Jews are descendants of Abraham, and secondly that a sizeable proportion of Jews are *not* descendants of Abraham.

However, although the Zionist pioneers who struggled to establish the State of Israel often used the Old Testament to strengthen their claims, the movement was essentially political. It was not motivated primarily by religion. Religious Judaism and political Zionism should not be confused. The development of Zionism coincided with the emergence of Arab nationalism at the turn of the century. The First World War was an important mark in the history of the conflict. Although the Arabs had been promised independence by the British in return for their support against the Turks in 1916, in 1917 the British Government committed itself to a contradictory pledge to the Zionists, with the Balfour Declaration of November 1917 for a 'home for the Jews in Palestine'. But although it declared H.M.G.'s support for 'the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people' it was conditional on 'it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine'. The 'existing non-Jewish communities' in 1917 constituted 92 per cent of the population. The aims of the Zionists had been clearly stated. The Balfour Declaration gives some recognition to these.

In 1897 the First World Zionist Congress declared its aims to include

'the promotion on suitable lines of the colonisation of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers'. Herzl wrote that the indigenous population should be driven into 'transit countries'.

The Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was signed in 1929 and provided that 'land is acquired as Jewish property and . . . the title to the lands acquired is to be taken in the name of the Jewish National Fund, to the end that the same shall be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people'. It continued 'the Agency shall promote agricultural colonisation based on Jewish labour' and stated that 'it shall be deemed a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed'.

Despite efforts to moderate the image of Zionism and its intentions, as early as 1919 the King Crane Commission sent by the U.S. Government to the Middle East recommended: 'serious modification of the extreme Zionist programme for Palestine of unlimited immigration of Jews, looking finally to making Palestine distinctly a Jewish state'. In 1942, the Zionists adopted the Biltmore Programme which called for unrestricted Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine, and the formation and recognition of a Jewish military force under its own flag. On May 3, 1943, General Patrick J. Hurley, personal representative of President Roosevelt in the Middle East, reported that 'The Zionist organisation in Palestine' was committed to a programme for 'a sovereign Jewish State which would embrace Palestine and probably eventually Transjordan, an eventual transfer of the Arab population from Palestine to Iraq', and thirdly 'Jewish leadership for the whole Middle East in the fields of economic development and control'.

A number of Zionist para-military terrorist organisations were active in campaigning to drive out the non-Jewish inhabitants. In fact, the activities of the Jewish terrorists provoked Sir Winston Churchill, long an advocate of Zionism, to declare: 'If our dreams for Zionism are to end in the smoke of assassins' pistols and our labours for its future are to produce a new set of gangsters worthy of Nazi Germany, many like myself will have to reconsider the position we have maintained so consistently'.

With the close of World War II, world opinion rightly sought to assist the Jewish survivors of the Nazi crusade to regain some security. The solution, it seemed, was to acquiesce in the Zionist claim for a state in Palestine. In 1947 the United Nations recommended the partition of Palestine. It is on this resolution that Israel bases her legitimacy to exist as a Jewish state. The partition resolution recommended that the Jews should be given 51 per cent of the territory of Palestine—despite the fact that they still only provided a minority of the population, and owned not more than six per cent of the land.

In 1948, following the abortive move by the surrounding Arab states to protect the Palestinians, the State of Israel was declared—on land which exceeded that recommended by the United Nations. Today, following the 1967 conflict, Israel exists on territory beyond that of Palestine alone.

Israel is often presented as a miracle state. It is claimed that the desert has been made to bloom, and that the Jewish settlers have performed an

economic miracle. It is undeniable that Israel has benefited from unique privileges. In 1968, according to *Le Monde*, Israel received 10 per cent of all aid given to under-developed nations. Earlier this year Mr. David Nes, a diplomat with 26 years experience in the U.S. Foreign Service, wrote in *The Times*:

> During the 20 year period between 1948 and 1968 the United States government economic aid totalled $11,000m., while dollar transfers from private sources amounted to $25,000m., a total of $36,000m. or $1,400 *per capita* on a current population of 2,500,000. This greatly exceeds on a *per capita* basis United States assistance to any ally and compares with $35 *per capita* to the peoples of the 13 neighbouring states.

Mr. Nes also remarked on the significant increase in aid since 1967: 'Since 1968 American aid has greatly increased. Dollar transfers in 1970 reached $800 million and in 1971 will approximate $1.5 billion'. Analysing Israel's overseas aid, the *Journal of Economic Literature* (December 1969) stated:

> What is unique in this development is the factor of capital inflow.... During the 17 years 1949-1965 Israel received $6 billion more imports and services than she exported. For the 21 years 1948-1968 the import surplus would be in excess of 7½ billion dollars. This means an excess of some $2,650 per person for every person who lived in Israel. And of this supply from abroad, only about 30 per cent came to Israel under conditions which call for a return outflow of dividends, interest or capital. This is a circumstance without parallel elsewhere, and it severely limits the significance of Israel's economic development as an example to other countries.

It is, of course, necessary to appreciate that Israel has been in a state of war since 1948, but the crude realities are that the growth of the Israeli economy is based entirely on the inflow of capital from outside. Economically, Israel as an independent state is not viable. To continue to exist, Israel has either to reach some agreement with the surrounding Arab communities, and this would mean the restitution of Palestinian rights, or to maintain a state of war and dependence on overseas aid.

Each year since 1948 the United Nations has recognised the inalienable right of the displaced Palestinians to return to their homeland. The world still waits for Israel to respect this right. The Palestinians, as an Arab community, were prior to 1948 the most developed economically and socially. Palestine was well industrialised. It is not surprising therefore that this community should have provided some of the most articulate intellectuals, and that their concept of political democracy is highly developed. The Palestinians' resistance movement is no less articulate than the people it represents. This movement has not solely developed on a military level, but also in a social sphere of providing free education and medical aid to the exiled families, establishing political structures in the refugee camps, and in general making the refugees more self-reliant.

However, the most important aspect to be considered is the political proposals advocated by the Palestinian resistance movement. While respecting the diplomacy of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967, the solution, say the Palestinians, is the establishment of a secular, democratic Palestine.

Dr. Nabil Shaath, a spokesman for Al Fatah, the largest of the guerilla organisations, which also controls the Palestine Liberation Organisation, says: 'The democratic state concept is clearly superior in that it offers the Jew in Palestine equality and freedom from persecution, freedom from discrimination and anxiety, and yet retains the option to practise his religion and speak his language, and share co-equally in the building of a challenging and visionary new country'.

Setting on record the relationship to the Jewish community in a new Palestine state, Dr. Shaath added: 'The population of the new Palestine will include all, and I underline *all*, the Jewish settlers and all the Palestinians in exile, or under occupation who choose to live in Palestine, and accept equal status, as Palestinians, without any special rights or privileges'.

Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, has said that a Muslim majority in Palestine is not a precondition of peace. Dr. Shaath commended recently: 'Some critics focus on the problems of numbers, claiming that the Arabs of Palestine will be a minority in the New Palestine: an argument which is used in reverse by the Zionists, who claim that the New Palestine will have a Jewish minority. The same argument is used by both sides. The real problem is not that of numbers.'

The new state has been briefly outlined by Yasser Arafat as one in which Muslims, Christians and Jews all live together under equality, justice and fraternity, and in February last year the Palestine National Council, a kind of Parliament in exile representing all elements of the Palestinian society, unanimously agreed to this concept of a New Palestine, which was to be set down as the aim of their armed liberation struggle against Israel.

Such a proposal for peace is difficult not to support. After all, before the development of political Zionism Jews and Muslims lived in harmony in Palestine. It is not now essential for the Palestinians to show their respect for the Jews, but for the progressive Jewish people, in whose name Israel claims to speak, to hold out a hand of co-operation and hope to the Palestinians, and to pool the resources of two of the most enterprising communities in the development of a modern and progressive society.

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# UNIVERSAL FREE TRADE: THE KEY TO PROSPERITY

## by Paul de Hevesy

THE United States have long been in favour of a United Europe. Of recent times, however, more and more complaints have emanated from Washington about preferences granted by the Common Market to some countries but withheld from other countries, including the United States. There is thus a grave danger that the advocates of protectionism, who are numerous and powerful in both Houses of Congress, may succeed in changing the present liberal trade policy of the United States to one of drastic retaliation with high tariffs on many foreign imports. Though the Community of the Six has published a formal refutation of the American case, a latent mutual antagonism persists.

With the aim of averting the calamity of a transatlantic trade war, the United States, while continuing to support the policy of uniting Europe, might well consider the wisdom of appealing to all countries of the world to abolish, under reciprocity, in the course of the next ten years, their tariffs and other impediments to international trade, and in particular the so-called non-tariff barriers. This abolition could be effected by five reductions of 20 per cent every other year. The policy here recommended would by no means prevent the unification of Western Europe now, or even of all Europe, whenever the time was ripe for the fulfilment of this supreme aim.

The mutual concessions of the Kennedy Round consisted in the lowering of the tariff barriers of many countries by about one-third on the average. It is the gradual abolition of the remaining two-thirds that is here recommended, and this recommendation would apply to the whole world. If one-third of the customs barriers of the most important countries could be abolished by four years' negotiations, it is not unreasonable to entertain the hope that the remaining two-thirds could be abolished in ten years.

The six members of the E.E.C. did take part in the negotiations of the Kennedy Round and agreed to lower, by about one-third, the external tariff barriers surrounding the Common Market. Thus they can, on principle, have no objection to the abolition in the course of ten years and, under reciprocity, of the remaining two-thirds of these barriers. As for the tariff barriers separating from each other the present six member countries of the Common Market and the seven countries of the now partially disbanded Free Trade Union, they have already been completely eliminated.

However great the advantages of free trade may be, and indeed are, it would be for individual governments to decide how far they wished to restrict freedom of production and trade by national planning within

their own boundaries. Thus the Soviet Union, China, and the Russian-dominated countries would probably—if not at once, then in due course—adhere to the system of free international trade and might even be eager to participate in it. Governmental planning is not entirely incompatible with free trading. Thus there is much governmental planning in France and Holland and yet they enjoy free trade with the four other countries of the Common Market which have unplanned economies.

Today the Soviet Union does not export any goods—except timber, oil, natural gas, and perhaps some primary products—without depriving its own population of them. But Soviet industry will soon produce huge quantities of genuine surpluses of many goods and then it will be only too glad to find unprotected markets for them. Higher production in the Soviet Union will, however, lead to wider choice; wider choice will lead to greater liberty; and greater liberty will completely transform the social and economic system of communism.

In a world without barriers, measures of liberalisation should gradually apply not only to trade in industrial and agricultural products but also to services. To achieve greater monetary stability, world-wide collaboration in monetary policy is of the first importance. Co-ordination of national policies on tax-rates, labour, company and anti-trust laws, transport regulations, legislation to protect the consumer, and methods of financing exports should be gradually promoted by carefully considered stages. Special arrangements should also be made between all these countries for some measure of free movement by both manual and professional workers and their families. Further, provision should be made for the transfer of capital and for the exchange of books and periodicals between all, including the communist countries.

It might be arranged that branches of infant industries and of infant agriculture, both in developed and less developed countries, could enjoy tariff protection, which, however, should be strictly limited in time. If, after the expiry of this time-limit, the branch of industry or agriculture in question still could not stand on its own feet, then both the tariff and the pursuit should be abandoned.

Is there a danger that, under free world trade, low-cost overseas farm products would inundate the markets of Europe and thus ruin its farmers? This should not be feared if an adequate period of adjustment were to be given to the farmers, during which the division of labour, in the true sense of the word, had time to work itself out, and if the farmers everywhere were to adopt the rearing of those plants and animals which were most suitable to the particular country and region. Costs of production may be lower in some of the overseas countries, yet wages, especially in North America and Australia, are much higher than in Europe. Moreover, the by no means negligible costs of transport and insurance must be added to overseas farm costs.

Would the unprotected United States have to fear competition from Japanese industry? As for the industries of the United States, so rich in raw materials, and of Japan, so poor in raw materials, free competition

between them would be of great advantage to both, producing many goods that would sell well in each other's markets. This would be right; for no country should, or indeed could, strive to produce and export all kinds of goods and thereby deprive other countries of their prosperity. In a united world the broad principle should prevail that each country should produce and export those goods which it could make cheapest and best. To live and let live should be the motto of every individual and of every country. This is the true policy of peaceful co-existence. This principle was implicit in the policy of the United States when they admitted Japan to the Kennedy Round.

The centrally planned and controlled economies, and even those of all other capitalist countries, are put to shame by the free-enterprise economy of Japan, which is now advancing at twice the speed of any other industrial economy. If wars of territorial expansion are to be averted in the future, proper outlets must be found for the products of ingenious and industrious people like the Japanese. It is questionable whether the two world wars would have broken out if international free trade had prevailed and if the distribution of colonial possessions had been more equitable.

Free trade is often opposed on account of the differences that prevail in wages in different countries. Lower wages, however, do not always result in lower costs of production. Rice, for example, is produced in the United States and Australia, with the highest wages in the world, and in the Asiatic countries, with the lowest wages in the world; and yet the cost of producing rice in the United States and Australia is considerably lower than in any of the Asiatic countries. Of course, the United States and Australia cannot produce the enormous quantities of rice needed by consumers throughout the world: quantities roughly equivalent to the total wheat production of the world. In the United States there are in fact many goods produced better and cheaper than in Japan. Though Japanese wages are still low, they are steadily rising.

The general public is always thinking of the existing differences in labour costs, but surely no government—capitalist or communist—of any country with low wages aims at maintaining this difference. Nor is it in the interest of the other countries, if they wish to maintain peace, to perpetuate the differences. These should gradually diminish. We cannot, therefore, start from the assumption that the Kioto paper industry or the Hong Kong textile industry will always enjoy wages based on 'one bowl of rice a day'. Both the helpful generosity and the practical sagacity of advanced and prosperous nations should enable them to perceive what is in their ultimate interest; and it depends mainly on them whether free trade as a general policy should or should not be initiated for the world at the present momentous conjuncture.

That the general trend is towards free trade can be seen from the fact that the principal South American and all the Central American as well as five Central African countries have already decided to merge their territories into customs unions. A proposal has been put forward to bind

together in a free-trading economic union Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. It seems also that Spain and Portugal are dismantling the tariff barriers separating them from each other. Though these attempts are no mere imitations, they certainly benefited from the favourable experiences of the E.E.C. and the E.F.T.A. as well as from the more limited (but in some respects even more successful) associations of the Benelux countries or the free-trade agreement between the United Kingdom and Eire.

Even though not all countries would respond to the appeal for a universal customs union, there is little doubt that some hesitant and reluctant countries would ultimately follow suit. Preferential treatment could and should be granted to under-developed countries. It is good news that the 18 leading western industrial countries have devised a plan to improve access to their markets for manufactured goods from under-developed countries.

If the free-market system—in other words, modern and improved capitalism—is to prevail, the relations of all prices of all commodities to each other, demonstrating the impact of peaceful competitive forces, must be left to operate with little restraint. These price relations are far too important to be left to the whims of national governments. They should depend on the combined decisions of all consumers and all producers of all commodities throughout the world.

Exorbitant prices are the curse of our time. They are largely responsible for incessant wage-claims, for strikes, for trade-union belligerence, and for much of the revolutionary ferment that disrupts the world. What is the use of high wages if prices are all the time artificially raised? These prices are particularly intolerable for old-age pensioners and others living on fixed incomes. The introduction of universal free trade would constitute a peaceful revolt of the peoples of the world against the unwarranted and often excessively high prices extorted from them.

The very survival of the capitalist and indeed any kind of socialist system depends on vigorous competition both in production and marketing; for this is the only way to produce goods of the highest possible quality at the lowest possible cost and to sell them at the lowest possible prices. This policy can be fulfilled only by promoting a free world market, by introducing a world currency, or at least freely convertible and transferable national currencies, by providing legal protection for foreign property, by suppressing monopolies, by preventing dumping, and by conducting all trade, possibly even under dictatorships, through independent merchants, whose experience and confidence present a reassuring contrast to the ineptitude of public functionaries unwisely vested with mercantile powers.

It is not here suggested that the system of agricultural price-support and its corollary, industrial tariff protection, should be abolished at short notice or that free and competitive markets should be established without an interval of transition. But it is suggested that such measures be taken soon with the final aim of allowing economic forces to operate without

much State interference in production, trade and prices. The main purpose of the establishment of a world-wide economic union would be to place all the participating countries under the inescapable pressure of competition both in quality and price of goods and in value of services.

The world is a natural entity, whereas national boundaries are artificial and haphazard. Hence we should beware of attributing too much importance to them. Does it not strike every enlightened student of human affairs that the shrunken world of today, with its 200 States sharply separated in trade and currency, is nothing but a welter of mutually injurious conspiracies, an economic madhouse from which all should join in praying for an early release? In spite of current crises, it is now the duty of all progressive governments to take effectual measures for the liberalisation of world trade, which grows fastest between the countries that do not impose tariff barriers against each other's exports. The best proof of this is provided by the 50 States of the American Union, the 22 cantons of Switzerland, the many countries that comprised the former Austria-Hungary, the German Zollverein, and the Benelux countries for several years before the establishment of the European Economic Community.

Since, under competitive free world trade, all prices would be established by world supply and world demand, there is no reason to assume that these prices would be too high or too low, that they would not be in proper relation to each other, or that agriculture would not be profitable. There is no reason why, under universal free trade, in the same country, the standard of living of farmers should be lower than that of citizens engaged in other occupations. Moreover, there would be a growing tendency for the standard of living of all countries to fall into line.

The farmer is not faced with the changing mood of the consumer: the demand for meat, milk, and cereals has not diminished for centuries. The manufacturer and the trader are faced with frequent changes due to innovation and to transient fashions; the consumer may suddenly be for or against buying their goods. This applies in particular to luxury products. Nor is the solicitor, the architect, the printer, or the tailor sure of a steady demand for his services.

Thus, the standard of living of the farmers, who could then buy everything at low prices, would not fall behind that of other pursuits. Why should the farmer, who has to contend with the fickleness of the weather, need subsidies any more than the manufacturer or the trader, who are permanently faced with changes in political and economic conditions of their countries and of the world?

Under free trade, mountains of butter and sugar and millions of gallons of milk would not remain unsaleable, as they now are in the Common Market. The United States would not have so many unwanted turkeys that they would have to be tinned as food for domestic pets. Nor would France be exporting wheat, for which its farmers are paid at double the world price, below the minimum price fixed by the International Wheat Agreement, of which France is a signatory.

Most of the inhabitants of the world still earn their livelihood by tilling the soil and by rearing livestock. Neither their problems nor those of the consumers can be satisfactorily solved on the narrow basis of national interests. Not even the United States or the Soviet Union can solve these problems without regard to the rest of the world. All statesmen must sooner or later recognise that economic nationalism in general, and agricultural nationalism in particular, are ruinous absurdities. For economic purposes, different countries should be treated as different regions of one single vast country.

One single world market would then be brought into being. Total supply and total demand would meet face to face, no longer peering at each other through the restraining bars of tariffs. Everyone who had both the desire and the means to buy a commodity would try to procure it. A single world price—except for differences due to transport and storage—would be evolved for each staple commodity, and these world prices would be the lowest possible ones. Everyone would have to decide for himself how much of his capital or income should be spent, and on which commodity or service. It would be a long and arduous task —though a heartening one—to describe all the consequences of such a situation, affecting, as it would, almost every inhabitant of the globe. The economic unification of the world would lead the way to its political unification and hence to world peace and world prosperity.

Winston Churchill declared as long ago as 1905:

> Free trade, though primarily a commercial policy, is a human and social policy and a great touchstone. We support it not merely because it makes for prosperity, progress, and the fairer distribution of the wealth that is created, but because it makes for that peace without which these things cannot be obtained.

Maynard Keynes, acknowledged to have been the greatest economist of our time and perhaps of all time, expressed his conviction on the same subject:

> We must hold to free trade, in its widest interpretation, as an inflexible dogma, to which no exception is admitted. We must hold to this even where we receive no reciprocity of treatment and even in those rare cases where by infringing it we could in fact obtain a direct economic advantage. We should hold to free trade as a principle of international morale, and not merely as a doctrine of economic advantage.

The noble exhortation of Pope Pius XI in this Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* may aptly conclude this short survey:

> In international trade relations, let all means be sedulously employed for the removal of those artificial barriers to economic life which are the effects of distrust and hatred. All must remember that the peoples of the earth form but one family in God.

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# THE LEGAL STRAITJACKET OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

by Leslie Paul

CHURCH law is customarily canon law and the canon law of the Church of England is the nearest thing to a written constitution and clergy disciplinary code that it possesses. The makers of Canon Law have been the Convocations of Canterbury and York, clergy legislative bodies from which the laity were generally excluded, and the canons passed by them 'are binding *proprio vigore* on the clergy'.[1] In 1970, however, Convocations were amalgamated and, with a House of Laity, constitute the General Synod to which power to make or amend Canon Law now passes. The present revised canons promulgated by Convocations in 1966 and 1969 come down from the Code of 1603 and include many Canons unchanged in form and wording. Canon A5, 'of the doctrine of the Church of England', spells out the basis of the church's life: 'The doctrine of the Church of England is grounded in the holy Scriptures, and in such teachings of the ancient Fathers and Councils of the Church as are agreeable to the said Scriptures. In particular such doctrine is to be found in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, The Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal.'[2] Clergy discipline is founded on the Declaration of Assent (Canon C15) in which a clergyman before ordination and at every subsequent change of post is required to swear that he solemnly assents to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal—the specific doctrinal and liturgical legacies of the English Reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Canon Law comes down to the church from pre-Reformation days, but the post-Reformation Canons proclaim in no uncertain voice the Church's loyalty to its Tudor and Caroline origins. Indeed the very first canon speaks of the Church of England as established according to the laws of this realm under the Queen's Majesty.

Before the Reformation, English Canon Law was grounded upon the Canon Law of the European church as a whole, and subject to the authority of Popes and Councils, but that link was deliberately broken by Statute Law, in particular by The Submission of the Clergy Act, 1533, which 'severely curtailed the Church's power to legislate by Canon':

(a) by limiting it to the English Convocations if and when summoned by Royal writ (Section 1),
(b) by requiring the Royal Assent and licence for all Canons (Section 1),
(c) by prohibiting the making of Canons contrary or repugnant to 'the customs, laws or statutes of this realm' (Section 3).[3]

The powers of the Act show how easily the church down the centuries was silenced and made submissive. Indeed from 1603 until this century the order and discipline of the church were determined by Statute Law, that is by Parliament, or by royal injunction. For over a hundred years, convocations were never called.

It would require a separate study to analyse and codify the mass of ecclesiastical legislation passed by Parliament between the Submission of the Clergy Act of 1603 and the Enabling Act of 1919 which established Church Assembly as the ecclesiastical legislative chamber. What is quite certain is that, despite its own legislative powers, the Church today stands legally in the position determined for it by the successive Acts of Uniformity of 1548, 1558, and 1662. For our purposes 1662 is definitive. It required the clergy to use the Book of Common Prayer in what we may speak of as its finally approved form (still in daily use), and especially for the morning and evening prayers of the book to be said in all churches on Sundays. The 1662 Act put in statute form the central disciplinary doctrines of the Canons of 1603. Two hundred and sixty two years later, the Clerical Subscription Act, 1865, drafted amidst the ritualist controversies, dotted the i's and crossed the t's of the earlier legislation and enshrined the Declaration of Assent, already described, in Section 1 of the Act. There could not be the slightest doubt as to what the Church of England was in terms of statute law. It was the body entrusted by the State to maintain the forms of public worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer, to sustain the doctrines of the Thirty-nine Articles, to recruit and ordain ministers obedient to these requirements according to the forms prescribed in the Ordinal.

Is it still that? The Code of Canons of 1603 has been replaced by the Revised Code of Canons of 1964 and 1969 which has of course received the necessary royal assent. The Law Reform (Repeals) Act 1969 has got rid of the Clergy Subscription Act. But the Act of Uniformity 1662 remains in possession of the field. That act has been softened in its liturgical rigour in one respect—The Prayer Book (Alternative and Other Services) Measure of 1965 (a Church Assembly measure, of course) authorising alternative forms of service to those prescribed in the Prayer Book for an experimental period which will end in 1980. There are stringent safeguards to make sure the experimental services do not depart from 'the doctrine of the Church of England'. A Church Assembly measure needs the approval of Parliament. If received it has the force of an Act of Parliament. It is this close relationship between Church Assembly—but since 1970, General Synod—and Parliament which causes one to regard the Church's supreme legislative body as an extra-parliamentary ecclesiastical legislative chamber. As a sub-body its powers are limited as it discovered when the Revised Prayer Book of 1928, debated and approved by Church Assembly, was twice rejected by Parliament.

What did the Enabling Act achieve? It is an odd act. It did not draft a constitution for Church Assembly. Convocations did that. Virtually, it recognised the right of the Church to govern itself in all matters where parliamentary sanction was not required—and, where it was, it laid down how that sanction was to be obtained. Measures passed by Church Assembly had to be submitted by the Legislative Committee of the Assembly to the Parliamentary Ecclesiastical Committee of both Houses of Parliament. Ultimately, a Measure is laid before both Houses,

accompanied by a Report of the Ecclesiastical Committee and, on the passing of a resolution of approval, goes to the Queen for assent. What applies to Church Assembly applies to General Synod. No Measure passed by it has any validity without parliamentary approval. It may pass resolutions: they have only moral force. Parliament has not surrendered its ultimate control over the Church, but simply transferred to it the detailed legislative work for which it was no longer fitted and had no time. Of course it has been of enormous benefit to the Church that since 1919 it has been *de facto* the creator of its own legislation. Nevertheless, the special role of the state is set out in a clause of the Enabling Act which charges the Ecclesiastical Committee to look at any Church Assembly Measures in the light of 'the constitutional rights of all His Majesty's subjects'. The Commission's report, *Church and State,* comments significantly about this: 'This phrase has been much discussed, and it is thought to mean *the rights of the people of England,* and not merely those who take an active part in church affairs or are regular church-goers, to worship when they wish in their parish churches and to receive the sacraments and ministrations of the clergy. These rights have been upheld in cases in the courts, and they are also guaranteed by the parochial system extending over the whole country and by the obligations involved in the care of souls.'[4]

The law does not allow the Church to behave as a voluntary society. What it can do and cannot do, whom it can admit or turn away, are strictly circumscribed by law. Its right to make its own law subject to parliamentary sanction precisely expresses its established but dependent position. That dependence still leaves the appointment of its principal leaders in the hands of the Crown. In the case of Archbishops and Bishops the appointments are still determined by the Appointment of Bishops Act of 1533 which gives all power to the crown, which today is subject of course to the advice of the Prime Minister. The Crown issues a *congé d'élire* to the dean and chapter requiring them to elect the person nominated by the Queen within twelve days. A not dissimilar procedure governs the appointment of deans of cathedrals. Under the Suffragan Bishops Act, 1534, a diocesan bishop submits two names to the Queen who by tradition appoints the first. The Queen holds rights of patronage of many important livings—by the lowest estimate of my own Report, some 726 livings, or six per cent of the total are in Crown hands.

Reciprocally, the law requires the sovereign to be in communion with the Church of England, to swear to maintain the laws of God, the protestant reformed religion established by law, to preserve the settlement of the Church of England and its doctrine, worship, discipline and government, and to protect bishops and clergy in their legal rights and privileges. By the Accession Declaration Act, 1910, the Sovereign must declare himself a faithful Protestant who will uphold the Protestant succession. An atheist, a Roman Catholic, a Methodist could not in present law ascend to the throne. The coronation itself takes place within the context of a holy eucharist in Westminster Abbey and it is the Archbishop of Canterbury,

attended by the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London and Winchester, who anoints the Queen with holy oil and places the crown upon her head.

The establishment role of the Church gives her a bench of twenty-four bishops and two archbishops in the House of Lords but debars her ministers from sitting in the Commons—a deliberate decision to prevent crown nominees from creeping into the Commons and creating there a servile clique. The establishment's protection extends to the church courts. The ecclesiastical courts, stolen from the Pope, were established as crown courts with the same standing as civil courts. The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Act of 1963—the last in a long line—freed lay persons from their jurisdiction and set up the current procedure. Under these, court proceedings may be taken against bishops and clergy for disciplinary reasons (unbecoming conduct, neglect, doctrine, ritual) or faculty reasons (ceremonial, church order, buildings, dress). At the episcopal level trial is by commissions of bishops appointed by Convocations, with the Dean of Arches presiding, with right of appeal to a review commission appointed by the crown (three communicant Lords of Appeal and two bishops from the Lords).

For what used to be called the 'inferior' clergy, matters concerning doctrine, ritual and ceremonial go to a new body, the Court of Ecclesiastical Causes Reserved, which the crown appoints and appeal is to a Commission of Review assisted by episcopal and theological advisers. In cases of clergy conduct, trial is by consistory courts (that is diocesan courts), with appeal only to provincial courts. Faculty proceedings are similarly handled except that in those which do not involve doctrine, ritual or ceremonial appeal may still go as far as the Privy Council. The 1963 Act cleared away a legal jungle worthy of the pen of Dickens in which every diocese had eight or nine courts or tribunals with legal power and every province had at least six. Even though the court system has been rationalised, one notes that church and civil powers both combine to create means by which people (clergy mostly) can be tried for ecclesiastical offences in ecclesiastical courts. It is the price of establishment by statute law. If statute law appears to be broken there must be means to try offenders for the 'crime' or 'offence'. If there are verdicts of guilty there must be 'sentences'. These vary from admonitions to total deprivation of office, status, livelihood—the process of 'defrocking', that is. It is sad that clergy discipline has to be maintained by judicial processes. Churches which are voluntary associations are spared this medievalism. It is not surprising that Church courts are little resorted to and their intimidatory pressure therefore the less felt.

The tight hand of the law shows itself in all the authorised procedures for parochial reorganisation and reform. The Pastoral Measure, 1968, a consolidatory measure which embodies a number of proposals from the Paul Report, gives quite considerable powers to the statutory Pastoral Committee of every diocese. As well as the general supervision of the pastoral arrangements of the diocese it can produce and carry through schemes for the reorganisation of designated areas of the diocese and the disposal of redundant churches. A pastoral scheme can involve the

creation, whether by union or otherwise, of new benefices or parishes and the dissolution of old ones, the redrawing of boundaries and the creation of extra-parochial places. It can establish group and team ministries and in the case of team ministries determine the tenure of the clerical group. Patronage and freehold rights can be withdrawn where the scheme makes this necessary and incumbents compensated for the loss of freehold. Churches made redundant by any scheme are handed over to the consideration of the Advisory Board for Redundant Churches which has to seek a suitable use for the church before advising its demolition, and in any case has to report its activities to the Archbishops and indirectly to the Church Commissioners and General Synod. Every diocese has, too, its statutory Redundant Church Uses Committee which reports directly to the Church Commissioners and from which the Commissioners may demand a direct account of the proposals for the disposal of any particular church.

The Church Commissioners have as important a role where the fate of pastoral schemes is concerned. A scheme moves in this way and by statutory authority; the Pastoral Committee prepares it: it then consults interested parties — incumbents, patrons, parochial church councils, archdeacons and rural deans, local planning authorities—granting interviews where necessary; the scheme, amended or unamended, then goes to the Bishop; if he approves, it goes to the Church Commissioners; they may make amendments and in any case if a redundant church has to be altered or pulled down they must consult the Advisory Board: if all is finally approved the Commissioners now prepare a legal document—a draft pastoral scheme or pastoral order to give effect to the proposals.

Now everything starts again. The scheme or order is submitted to all interested parties inviting written representations within twenty-eight days. If it involves redundant churches the Advisory Board has to be notified and notices inserted in the appropriate newspapers. If the Church Commissioners are of the opinion, representations or no representations, that the scheme should go through they submit it to 'Her Majesty in Council'. The Privy Council publishes the appropriate order. If not a scheme but a pastoral order is concerned the legal document goes to the bishop who applies his seal to it to make it effective. Not all is over yet. 'Any person who has duly made written representations with respect to the scheme may appeal to Her Majesty in Council against the scheme or any provisions thereof by lodging notice of appeal with the Clerk of Privy Council before the expiration of a period of twenty-eight days beginning with the day immediately after the date of the first publication of the notice of the submission of the scheme . . .'

The Privy Council may order an appeal to be heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Her Majesty in Council may allow the appeal and then dismiss the scheme, or dismiss the appeal and confirm the scheme, or do neither and ask for another scheme. If the scheme is returned to the Commissioners they can withdraw the scheme, re-submit it to the Privy Council just as it is, or amend it after the Bishop and Pastoral Committee have seen it again. It takes endless time even if all the

Dickensian circumlocutory processes are successfully surmounted and an order has appeared in the *London Gazette*. But it may have been wrecked on the way, perhaps by one determined individual, who may not have to bear any share of the legal costs. A Pastoral Committee is naturally reluctant to start a second round for a scheme lost or spoilt on the first round. Consultation, appeals, representations there must be, of course, or we have church management by the back room boys. But whether they need to be so labyrinthine and tortuous and need to end up in the lap of the supreme legal body in the land is open to doubt.

The Privy Council everyone knows. The Church Commissioners on the other hand constitute a collective *éminence grise* behind the Church of England. The Commissioners came into existence in 1948 through the amalgamation of Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Commissioners hold, invest and administer the ancient endowments of the church and distribute the income to the ordained servants of the church. Every clergyman's salary cheque comes from them and their financial skill determines by and large the level of stipends. Over this they have a good record. Their second function is to act as a legal and judicial body. To some extent how they act is described above in the rigmarole involved over Pastoral Measure schemes. Sufficient to say that no parish is created or dissolved, no church built or demolished, no boundary changed without the approval of the Commissioners.

They draw their authority from Parliament where questions could be asked about them but never are. They are not responsible to Synod. They must rank, I suppose, as a department of state; at least no resolution of Synod would be operative against them. They have, nevertheless, an enormous board—all the bishops and archbishops, something like fifteen other clergy, ten laity appointed by Synod and four by Her Majesty, four nominees of the Archbishop, judges, some representatives of the cities of London and York, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But effective management is in the hands of the three Church Estate Commissioners, one of whom has to be a Member of Parliament.

I have not exhausted the legal complications of the Church of England. They are in fact inexhaustible. It is doubtful if any institution in the land is so bound round with legal complications: they determine just about everything from the words of its (authorised) prayers to the ornaments and memorials on the walls of its churches, from the rights of patrons to the coronation oath of the Queen. Perhaps it is best to say that the church is (institutionally) primarily a legal body watched over by lawyers. If not the whole truth it is not an untruth. Certainly its over-legalisation goes along with and stands guard over its over-institutionalisation. But there is no one church law on the statute book, creating and defining it (the Act of Uniformity, 1662, comes nearest) but scores and scores of laws which increase year by year as first Church Assembly expressed, and now General Synod expresses its legislative will; always subject to Parliament which may not interfere but has the power to. Indeed, General Synod, at its birth faced with the Church and State Report, is having to decide whether it must ask

for complete power to determine its own liturgy and for greater power over the appointment of Bishops. The legislative dependence of the Church of England is illustrated by the Church and State Report itself. It contains as an appendix the draft of a Measure designed to give the Church control over its doctrine and liturgy. A schedule shows that sixteen Acts or Measures ranging over four centuries would have to be repealed in whole or in part to achieve just that.

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[1] *The Canons of the Church of England: Canons Ecclesiastical promulgated by the Convocations of Canterbury and York in 1964 and 1969:* Introduction by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York: S.P.C.K. 1969 p. XI.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[3] *Church and State, Report of the Archbishop's Commission, 1970,* Appendix A 'The Law of the Church of England', C.I.O. p. 88.
[4] *Op. cit.* p. 95 (my italics).

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[Dr. Leslie Paul, M.A., hon.D.C.L., F.R.S.L., is the author of the report named after him on *The Deployment and Payment of The Clergy.* He was a member of the Albemarle Committee on the Youth Services of England and Wales and produced a separate report for the Industrial Society in the same field, on the *Transition from School to Work.* Until 1970 he was Lecturer in Ethics and Social Studies at Queen's College and in theology in the University of Birmingham. He is at present engaged on a new work called *The Future Church Revisited.*]

The June issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes *The Maturity of a Crusade* by Peter Archer, Q.C., M.P., *The Psychological Secret of Japanese Dynamism* by Julian Makaroff, *Why Some Ducks are Lame* by Ian Harvey, and *The Testament of Andrew Marvell (1621-78)* by G. Wilson Knight.

# THE IRISH PROBLEM — A NEW APPROACH (1)

## Anomalies Unlimited

**by Sir Frederic Bennett M.P.**

THE 'Irish Problem' has for so long bedevilled the British political scene, with alternating periods of comparative calm and violent upsurge, that up to now we have come to accept it as a part of life. Today there is a new conviction among the long-suffering, tolerant British, cutting right across domestic party loyalties and differences, *that enough is enough.* The time has surely come, since apparently we cannot find a lasting solution within the framework of the present constitutional relationship, or lack of one, between the United Kingdom and Eire, to abandon patching-up operations in favour of a fundamental reappraisal of realities. Fewer and fewer people are prepared to put up with the absurdities and their cruel consequences of pretending any longer that Eire is at heart part of Great Britain.

Maybe and maybe not a new practical political 'initiative' from Westminster acceptable both to Ulster and Eire has been found, inducing the I.R.A., Regulars, Provisionals and their supporters temporarily to abandon their present campaign of ruthless bloodshed. Yet no responsible British Minister should go further in his secret thoughts, whatever his political pronouncements, than to expect that what has thereby been attained is only another uneasy lull, to be followed by yet another storm, within, at best, another decade.

The late Dean Acheson, formerly Secretary of State in Washington, earned much obloquy here for describing post-war Britain as a country that had lost an Empire but not yet found another role for itself—thus proving that it is the truth that hurts. It is indeed an example of post-Imperial nostalgia that makes too many of us regard Eire's existence as a separate state as a purely temporary phenomenon, rather like a parent whose child has left home for good nevertheless leaving the door off the latch long after it is obvious that the separation is final. So today, while a significant element among the inhabitants of Eire continue aggressive activities against Britain which Dublin is unable or unwilling to prevent, we preserve a situation so anomalous that it would be comic were it not so tragic.

During the last war, although a number of gallant Irishmen joined Her Majesty's Forces, the government of Eire obstinately preserved a so-called neutrality which entailed keeping the lights of Dublin fully ablaze guiding the Germans with a dreadful certainty to and from their targets of destruction on Merseyside and elsewhere, and even sent messages of condolence on Hitler's death.

*Per contra,* tens of thousands of Australians and New Zealanders, of their own volition, travelled half the way round the world to stand by

us in a conflict of no immediate concern to them.

Ironically, only 25 years later Australians and New Zealanders of British descent become, after only one generation, foreigners to all intents and purposes, and have to stand in an aliens' queue, not just for work permits, but if they want to come here for more than three months. Citizens of Eire on the other hand are much more fortunate. They have an absolutely unrestricted right to enter here at any time, to live, to work, to enjoy our social services, and even to vote in our parliamentary and local authority elections—with no reciprocity extended.

One does not need a Gallup Poll confidently to assert that a large majority of the inhabitants of Great Britain wish to see citizens of the Irish Republic treated neither worse, nor better, than any other alien or overseas Commonwealth citizen arriving in this country for any and all purposes.

Implementation of overdue reforms would entail two immediate administrative changes. Eire citizens living here would have to register with the appropriate authority like anyone else coming to our shores. Secondly, the Ulster/Eire border would have to be controlled just like any other frontier between neighbouring friendly countries throughout Western Europe or in North America. Those in this country who still do not want to face facts argue, from an entirely false premise, that it would need several army divisions effectively to close the Ulster frontier. Maybe this is so. This is *not* what is entailed in the establishment of the same sorts of controls presently in force as between nations with longer frontiers involved than we would have to safeguard. The length that officialdom finds presents an insuperable task is 303 miles. As between France and Spain it is 400 miles, France/Belgium 340, Holland/Germany 335, Switzerland/Italy 460. If we look across the Atlantic the contrast is even more telling —Canada/U.S.A. 4,000 miles and Mexico/U.S.A. 2,000 miles. Of course evasions take place along these varied national boundaries; but no one seriously suggests that therefore controls should be abandoned. How many people would argue that because a number of people manage to travel on London Transport without a ticket all charges should be abolished? What is particularly ridiculous is that an Irishman entering Britain from the United States of America or any continental country has to produce a valid passport, as we all do and which no one seems to find any significant hardship.

Two beneficial off-shoots of requiring Irishmen entering this country to produce appropriate documentation, just like everyone else, would be that the present *theoretical* right of the U.K. to deport a citizen of the Republic back to Eire would have some *practical* meaning—replacing the farcical position which obtains today, when a citizen of Eire deported from England because of some crime gets a free ride to Dublin; but can safely return to resume his life here within a few hours or days, via Ulster.

Secondly, the need for the highly controversial power of internment would be much reduced. One of the greatest difficulties, leading inevitably to internment, that the enforcers of law and order have to face in Ulster

today is the reluctance of witnesses, through intimidation or mis-placed loyalties, to come forward and testify against an accused. After the suggested reform, if a suspect were picked up by the security forces in Belfast or Londonderry and found to be a citizen of Eire, *having entered the United Kingdom improperly,* he could be sentenced to a term of imprisonment for that offence alone, together with an effective deportation, in common with illegal immigrants from anywhere else.

The only constitutional objection advanced to rethinking on the question of Irish entry into the U.K. is that the suggested change would entail the production of passports by Ulstermen as well as Eire citizens when landing here, e.g. in Liverpool from Belfast. Earlier, it may well have been true that Ulstermen might have resented this minor interference with their freedom of movement within the United Kingdom. Today it would surely be a small price to pay for a much increased sense of security. It should indeed not be regarded as an objection to reform, but rather as an aid, in that it gives the security forces not just one opportunity, as is the case when aliens come to Dover, to check their identity, but two—one on the land frontier between Ulster and Eire, and another on leaving Ulster to enter England, Scotland or Wales.

While we are getting rid of some of the major anomalies it would be as well also to tidy up some of the less consequential ones. For example, no longer should citizens of Eire have voting rights, if at all, in Britain, not fully reciprocated across the Irish Channel.

Last, but certainly not least, immediate steps should be taken, if they have not already been taken by the time this article is published, to ban the I.R.A. in Britain as it is already banned in Ulster or even in Eire, and thus curtail the overt collection of funds from monies earned here, to be sent and spent abroad to buy arms and ammunition to kill our fellow-citizens.

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# A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE USE OF CANNABIS SATIVA

by Ian Hindmarch

*'Some call it evolution, others call it God.'—Carruth*

THE dried leaves, exuded resin and flowering tops of *cannabis sativa* known also as Indian Hemp and more colloquially as 'hash', 'grass', 'tea', 'mary ann', 'marihuana', 'smoke' and 'pot' have been smoked, eaten and used by man since earliest times. The 'hashish smoker' is to be found in the novels of Arthur Conan Doyle and the literature of Victorian England portrayed as some gentleman dilettante who had seen service in India or the Far East where he had taken up 'the habit'. The hashish smoker was not prosecuted by the laws of the day; he may have been regarded as somewhat odd by his contemporaries, but by and large it was live and let live. Comparisons are odious, but a century later the youth of the same country adopted hashish as their passport to their alternative societies. They observed their elders drinking alcohol, smoking tobacco, taking vast quantities of medicaments and quaffing endless cups of caffeine and tannic acid—and decided that their preferred drug would be cannabis. The image of the hashish smoker no longer prevailed; in lieu a drug abuser, the 'pot' smoker, was born. 'Pot' became an emotionally charged word akin to rape, murder and arson. Newspapers thrived on headlines such as 'Pot produces monster babies', while prohibitive laws for possession, use and trafficking of the drug were passed by an outraged society.

It is not the purpose of this present essay to examine the socio-legal implications of the current vogue for smoking 'pot', but rather to trace the history of *cannabis sativa* from its use as 'hashish' in early history to the present day use of 'pot'.

Cannabis sativa is not constant in its effects upon the individual. Indeed, controlled experiments have shown that only practised users ever achieve a 'high'; novices and naïve subjects experience little or no effect from taking the drug. Naturally enough the strength of the drug, the dose taken, the mode of administration are all important variables in determining the 'drug effect'. For cannabis, however, the past history of the taker, his expectations of the drug and the social setting in which the drug is taken, all play an important part in determining what is experienced by the user. In as much as the individual effects of taking the drug vary, there emerge patterns characteristic of cannabis use when civilisations or large societies are involved. These large scale effects are not peculiar to cannabis. A consideration of the current use of tobacco and alcohol reveals patterns of social interaction determined by these drugs. The use of the drug often reaches ritualistic performances as in the tasting of fine château bottled clarets, or the passing of port or cigars about a dinner table. Alcohol and tobacco have altered the pattern of

advertising on television and in magazines and newspapers, they have even altered the cause of death and so the mode of dying of a large proportion of the community. All societies use, have used and will continue to use drugs be it as the Kava cults of Polynesia, the Fly Agaric rituals of the Koryaks, the nutmeg eaters in suburban Canada or the aspirin takers of Western Civilisation. Our purpose is to examine the sometimes spectacular social history of but one of these drugs, cannabis.

The early Chinese civilisations were aware of the anaesthetic and narcotic properties of cannabis and, some 2737 years before Christ, Shen-Nung listed these properties in his treatise on pharmacology. Hoa-Tho (220 A.D.) used an infusion of cannabis and wine to numb the patient's senses during surgical procedures. The psychoactive properties of cannabis were not recorded in these early medicinal treatises, the plant being cultivated primarily as a source of hemp fibre.

It is not until the advent of the Indian civilisations about the turn of the 1st century B.C. that the richest vocabulary for describing the subjective effects of taking cannabis is to be found. Cannabis is found referred to as 'Soma' in the Rig-Veda, one of the earliest set of hymns and prayers known to man.

> 'O all knowing Soma, you are the ocean.
> Yours is the space of the five regions of the sky!
> You have risen above the sky and the earth.
> You are the stars, the sun, O clear Soma!

Oman, a nineteenth century missionary in India, noted that, '. . . a great number of Hindu lived in a perpetual state of intoxication from smoking herbs (cannabis), so fixing their minds on God'. Indeed the use of cannabis in religious ritual and as an aid to escape from reality into the world of quasi-mystical experience is a trend noted through history from earliest times to the present day. Certain individuals were more able by virtue of intellectual or physical deviance to respond to the 'illusionogenic' effects of cannabis and so became Shamans or high priests. Because cannabis use is as old as social man, it seems more than probable that the various visionaries and oracles of classical Greece and Rome used cannabis, perhaps mixed with *nepenthe* (opium), to attain states of delirious insight. Even if the old hags at Delphi did not use the drug, the Scythians certainly did. Herodotus reports in the most laudatory manner the magnificent Scythian vapour baths. His superlative description is not surprising considering the Scythian practice of throwing the dried leaves of *cannabis sativa* (marihuana) onto the red hot stones of the bath house.

A 12th century ancestor of the Aga Khan, Hasan-Ibn-Sabbah, achieved notoriety for the activities of his bodyguard, the 'assassins'. His assassins were maintained in perpetual stupor by way of fine food, loose women and quantities of hashish. Although philologists disagree as to the exact etymology of the word assassin it is not surprising to find one theory deriving it from 'Hasan' and 'hashish'.

Technological advances in medical instrumentation have often been

accused of aiding and escalating drug use, as was the case with the hypodermic syringe and the increase in the intra-venous abuse of the opiates during the later half of the 19th century. In the 13th century the hookah or 'hubble bubble' pipe made its first appearance in Egypt, concomitant with an immediate increase in the consumption of the local grown cannabis, 'kif'. The native North African's consumption of 'kif' reached such levels that French observers with the Napoleonic administration of the 18th century could not find more than a handful of Arab workers capable of building houses. The French Colonial administration could not tolerate such large scale stupor and apathy and so imposed heavy penalties for using, selling or trafficking the drug. It would seem that the French did not succeed in stemming the use of 'kif', for the Egyptian Government of 1960 had the identical problem. In trying to reduce absenteeism and to encourage Arab workers to give up 'kif' and work they issued a series of propaganda leaflets, somewhat akin to the Temperance Society broadsheets of Victorian England. The Egyptian Government suggested:

> . . . that the prepared produce of the *cannabis sativa* plant is capable of profoundly disturbing the brain cells and inducing acts of violence, even murder; it is a vicious and dangerous thing of no value whatever to humanity and deserving of nothing but the contempt of civilised people.

During the 17th century, Indian Hemp was the basis of the American Colonist's trade and commerce, and so great was the need for hemp ropes to equip the British Navy that James I issued a Royal Decree instructing the colonists to increase their hemp production. In the space of a few years the hemp industry on the Eastern seaboard of the Americas doubled its output of coarse yarn. Probably these same hemp fields are now harvested for the resin exuded by the female plant and it is somewhat paradoxical that present day cannabis users may be smoking marihuana planted by Royal Decree, although the current vogue for marihuana in the U.S.A. is more likely due to the influx of Mexican immigrants at the turn of the 20th century, bringing with them their native cannabis, 'mota'.

Some of the French Colonial Administrators in Egypt and North Africa, as well as French Algerians, returned to France with a habit of cannabis use reasonably well established. Some of the more literary formed hashish clubs where the smoking of hashish, the drinking of 'bhang' (a brew of hashish and fruit juices) and the eating of 'dawamesc' (an Algerian sweetmeat laced with hashish) was the order of the day. The most significant of these clubs was the *Club des Hachichins* founded by Jacques Moreau, a physician from the Bicêtre Hospital in Paris, who was treating the mentally ill with extracts of cannabis. Noticing the most pleasurable effects obtained upon sampling his own cure he, and a popular novelist of the time, Théophile Gautier, decided to adopt the hedonist doctrine via the use of cannabis. The Hôtel Pimoden, used by the members of the club, boasted one most literary member in Charles Baudelaire. Baudelaire was in his drug-using infancy when at the Hôtel Pimodan and it was not long before the search for hallucination escalated him towards the use of opium.

In 19th century Africa, Livingstone, travelling in the area of the Zambezi River, noted with concern the stupefaction of the young men of the region from the smoking of 'dagga'. At the same point in time, hashish was making its first appearance in England in a most spectacular manner. In 1840 O'Shaughnessy took a small amount of the resin of *cannabis sativa* and became in his own words, 'a rajah for three hours, and talked as he never had about everything he never had or expected to have'. He, Esterfield and Spinney were attemping to hydrogenate and nitrate cannabidol, one of the active components of cannabis resin; but they succeeded only in being killed in three separate laboratory explosions. However, an interest in hashish had been created at a pharmacological level.

In an attempt to understand more of the social impact of a prolonged use of hashish, the British Government sponsored a report on the use of cannabis, in its many forms, in India. The Report of the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission published in 1894 was contained in seven volumes of facts, figures and fictions relating to hashish and its use, abuse, sale, individual effects and impact on the population and social structure. There was little public reaction to the report in England, and it is only now that the present glut of learned papers on drug effects has brought to light several significant findings of the Royal Commissioners on Hemp.

The genesis of the present day widespread use of cannabis is probably to be found in the late forties and early fifties with the beatnik and jazz orientated adolescent sub-cultures. A consideration of the rise in cannabis offences would certainly indicate so, although measures of the number of convictions are but a poor index of the actual number of users who continue to take cannabis without detection by police authorities. Feelings of peace and tranquillity are among the most consistently reported effects of cannabis use. Baudelaire, albeit unknowingly, penned out the hippie doctrine of the sixties when writing of his final hashish experience.

> 'You are all superior to all men, no-one understands what you think, what you are feeling now. They are even incapable of understanding the immense love you have for them. But you must not hate them for that, you must have pity on them. An immensity of happiness and virtue is opening itself before you. No-one will ever know what degree of virtue and intelligence you have reached. Live in the solitude of your thoughts, and avoid harming others.
>
> One of the grotesque effects of hashish is the fear of hurting anyone at all, which is pushed to the point of the most meticulous folly. If you had strength, you would even disguise the extra-natural state in which you are in order to avoid upsetting the least important people.'

Campaigns for multilateral nuclear disarmament and International Peace linked with the fascination in mechanisms of hallucination and the processes of mind currently in vogue within universities and colleges, and fostered by intellectuals and authors such as Huxley, Graves, Hesse and Burroughs, produced the 'pot' orientated adolescent culture of the sixties. Ideals of communal living, alternative societies and new worlds were

aided by the dreaming in pot-induced states. No longer did the poet or intellectual dilettante smoke hashish in the company of a few like friends, rather 'pot' became the passport into an alternative, somewhat alienated society of age peers. A new musical sound was created, strings of apparently meaningless words joined to a cacophany of sound. The origins of this music can be traced directly to the effects of 'pot'. Baudelaire wrote:

> 'The eyes behold the infinite, the ear registers almost imperceptible sounds even in the midst of greatest din . . . Sounds clothe themselves in colour and colours contain music.'

Note how closely the 'pop' music of the 'sixties fulfils these later criteria. From The Beatles' *Sergeant Peppers Album* we have:

> Picture yourself in a boat on a river,
> With tangerine trees and marmalade skies
> Somebody calls you, you answer quite slowly,
> A girl with kaleidoscope eyes.
> Cellophane flowers of yellow and green,
> Towering over your head.
> Look for the girl with the sun in her eyes,
> And she's gone. . . .
> Newspaper taxis appear on the shore,
> Waiting to take you away.
> Climb in the back with your head in the clouds,
> And you're gone.
> Lucy in the sky with diamonds,
> Picture yourself on a train in a station,
> With plasticine porters with looking glass ties,
> Suddenly someone is there at the turnstile,
> The girl with the kaleidoscope eyes.

An even more convincing linking of the effects of the drug cannabis and the creative act is to be found between Théophile Gautier writing of his hashish experiences and The Beatles' recording of *I Am The Walrus*.

Consider the following two extracts, the first from Théophile Gautier:

> An enigmatic character suddenly appeared before me. . . . His nose was curved like a bird's beak; his green eyes, which he frequently wiped with an immense handkerchief, were encircled with three brown rings; . . . a black, square-cut coat, whence dangled loops of watch chains and fobs, imprisoned his body, which was thrust out like the breast of a capon. His legs, I must confess, were made of a bifurcated mandrake root—black, rough, full of knots and bulges—which seemed to have been freshly picked, for clods of earth still clung to its filaments. These legs thrummed and twisted with extraordinary activity, and, then the small torso that they upheld stood entirely facing me, the strange character burst into sobs, wiped his eyes with a sweeping gesture, and said in the most mournful tones: 'It is today that we must die laughing'. Tears as large as peas rolled across the wings of his nose. 'Laughing . . . laughing . . .' repeated a choir of echolike, discordant nasal voices. I then looked at the ceiling and perceived a host of bodiless heads like cherubims', with such comical expressions, such jovial physiognomies, and so profoundly happy a look that I could not but share in their hilarity. . . . These farcical masks turned in areas of opposite movement, producing a dazzling and dizzying effect. . . . With each new apparition . . . an immense, dumbfounding laugh, which seemed to resound through infinity, burst about me with a thunderous roar. Voices, now whining, now cavernous, screamed: 'No, it's too funny; more! My God, my God, what fun! funnier and funnier'. 'Enough! I can bear no more . . . Ha, Ha! Ho, Ho! He, He! What a fine farce! What a good pun!'

and the second, from The Beatles:

> I am the eggman, they are the eggmen—I am the walrus Goo Goo Goo Joob.
> Mr. City policeman sitting pretty little policeman in a row,
> see how they fly like Lucy in the sky—see how they run
> I'm crying—I'm crying I'm crying.
> Yellow matter custard dripping from a dead dog's eye.
> Crabalocker fishwife pornographic priestess boy you been a naughty girl,
> you let your knickers down. . . .
> Expert texpert choking smokers don't you think the joker laughs at you?
> Ha ha ha! He he he! Ha ha ha!
> See how they smile, like pigs in a sty, see how they snied.
> I'm crying.

It would be difficult to deny the similarity between these two works, especially when one listens to the recording, even though separated by a hundred years and even though produced in different media. Cannabis then, like alcohol and the thousands of other drugs taken by modern society, has its effect upon behaviour as is evidenced in the fields of literature and music. William Burroughs has admitted that he owed much of *The Naked Lunch* to the use of cannabis; and the legions of pop records based on cannabis effects bear witness to the generality of the effect of cannabis on modern society. Admittedly the portion of society most influenced by cannabis is the adolescents, for they are most likely to listen to 'the imperceptive sounds in the midst of greatest din'. Most marihuana smokers agree that when listening to music the hidden complexity, composition and arrangement of the music can be appreciated most easily.

So just as the use of cannabis aided the Ancient Hindu to fix their mind on God, it also determined the mystical religious tradition of the East; likewise taking 'pot' assists the production of modern music and also determines the mode of expression and way of life of a greater part of the adolescent cultures of today.

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# CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

## by Noel Zlobin

THE implementation of the scientific and technological revolution brings to the fore *homo sapiens* in his basic, 'thinking', creative function. Man the thinker,—an individual with an all-round harmonious development, with a vast outlook and with the ability, therefore, to find freely his bearings in a world changing with a kaleidoscopic rapidity—that is the kind of personality that the scientific and technological revolution brings into the arena. It is actually the kind of man who shows the right reaction when it is necessary to display creative initiative and self-sufficiency, when every action assumes social importance, that is responsible for everything being done. Moreover, this demand is being put, not to an *élite*, but to millions of human beings. You can see it even in the dry statistical estimates of the growth of the force of Soviet scientists which, with the preservation of modern rates of development, is supposed to increase in size in the not too distant future, amounting in numbers to a fair proportion of the country's able-bodied population. Though this sounds like a paradox, these estimates reflect very profound tendencies engendered by the scientific and technological revolution,—quite realistic tendencies at that.

Naturally, one cannot have here simple generalisation. A scientist of the future will be very different from his present counterpart. Yet, one cannot but agree that the level of knowledge and capacity of the scientists' creative application will be indispensable in a comparatively near future (measured in terms of history) to every adult person engaged in socially useful activities. The point is that already a highly-skilled worker must be acquainted with the fundamentals of scientific knowledge and cannot, as in the recent past, be satisfied merely with having working skills. The development of mankind turns into an indispensable and vital requirement for the normal functioning of production.

The comparative simplicity of training operators of automatic transfer lines is not in contradiction with this tendency. The present stage is only an initial one, transitory to complete automation, when the fulfilment of reproduction, mechanical functions in manual and mental labour, will pass from man to machine.

The core of complete automation is not only in having man substituted by the machine on the conveyer line, i.e., in the area of manual labour, but primarily in passing on to the machine the non-creative functions in mental labour and in production. As Karl Marx had foreseen, man is being relieved of the sphere of material production proper—the sphere of direct relations between the tools of labour and the object of labour. Human efforts are being concentrated in the area of creativity—in the sphere of culture, irrespective of whether they are applied to material or spiritual production.

Herein lies the basic social meaning of the scientific and technological revolution. Once relieved of the burden of material production proper, man is freed from the need to become adapted to the machine, to play the part of its appendage and carry out the machine's partial functions. Man's human forces and capacities are provided with scope for development. Such is the objective tendency springing from the scientific and technological revolution: and it has become so obvious that currently many major Western sociologists turn to Marx's conclusions on the all-round development of personality. True, they try to sever these conclusions from the general social doctrine of Marxism, and to adapt them to their own ideological and political concepts, as a result of which the essence of these conclusions becomes distorted. Yet this fact in itself is quite irrelevant. It shows that for an analysis of modern reality one inevitably turns to the works of Marx!

Marxism is a well-proportioned teaching. It is characterised primarily by regarding society in interaction from every aspect. As it uses the analysis of the history of development of productive forces as its foundation, Marxism shows that the objective tendencies engendered by this development do not operate automatically but that their implementation is defined by the economic and socio-political conditions existing in a given society. This holds good completely for the socialist society in which the aspirations of every citizen are to provide the material-technological and spiritual base for the good of man, for his all-round development.

The manifold development of initiative and the creative activities of millions of people in all areas of society's vital activities—such is the social base on which socialism and communism can develop. This, at the same time is the basic way for the spiritual renovation of society in the process of implementation of Lenin's plan for a cultural revolution.

Some critics reduce the cultural revolution in the U.S.S.R. to the overcoming of former backwardness and to the elimination of illiteracy. This certainly is a major achievement of the cultural revolution. Yet its purpose is different—namely that the 'masses' shall master creativity proper and thereby turn culture into man's spiritual requirement. We Marxists understand personality's many-sided development as the development of the capacity to have a diversified approach to any concrete matter, and to see it in the general context of history.

The enlistment of a broad stratum of working people in socially important creativity and conscious historical creative effort,—such is the achievement of socialism which conforms most comprehensively to the tendencies defined by the scientific and technological revolution.

'History', wrote Hegel, 'is something which is surreptitiously contained in the actions of men, but is not realised by them, and was not part of their intentions'. Thereby history, according to this definition, is something opposing culture. Marx described such a course of history as 'mankind's pre-history'. Karl Liebknecht, a well-known follower of Marx, wrote the following as he characterised the society of the future: 'In the future the only history of mankind will be the history of culture'. The difference

between the quoted statements of Hegel and Liebknecht briefly expresses the gist of those transformations of social life which communism brings—history becomes a result of man's conscious activities. This naturally does not mean that the operation of the objective laws of social development will terminate. The transformation of every man into a conscious subject of the cultural-historical process means that every man will act with a knowledge of the job at hand, with an understanding of objective laws, using these laws in the interests of the development of the entire society. And this naturally presupposes a high level of culture, a broad outlook: in other words, the transformation of all the wealth of human culture into man's inner wealth, whose spiritual requirements will be defined by the requirements of his own creative effort.

Thus, the enlistment of every man in creative activities is an objective requirement of the scientific and technological revolution, and this very requirement will be the foundation of the establishment and development of communist culture. The C.P.S.U. Programme points out: 'Absorbing and developing all the best that has been created by world culture, communist culture will be a new, higher stage in the cultural progress of mankind'.

This programmatic principle formulates the attitude of socialism and communism to the cultural heritage of the past. The socialist revolution destroys and eliminates the old system based on social inequality, on exploitation and humiliation. Yet, the essence of the socialist revolution is not in destruction but in creativity. And creative activities naturally presuppose the use of the entire cultural experience assimilated by mankind and of all the achievements of preceding culture. Long before the October Socialist Revolution of 1917, Lenin wrote that the followers of Marx were the real bearers of the heritage of previous progressive cultures, and that their activities were aimed at developing and ensuring creative application of the loftiest ideals and deepest aspirations of mankind. Later, Lenin stressed that socialist culture was not built in a vacuum but was based on the best achievements of human genius. As he called for the destruction of the capitalist world, Lenin wrote: 'But it is not enough to crush capitalism. We must take the entire culture that capitalism left behind and build socialism with it. We must take all its science, technology, knowledge and art'.

This naturally does not mean that socialism assimilates everything indiscriminately from the old society. A classical illustration of the attitude of socialism to the capitalist culture is Lenin's view on Taylorism which, according to him, fused the latest achievements of the then capitalist science of management with very subtle exploitation. Lenin wrote of the need to assimilate and critically transform all the valuable features in the Taylor system as regards the organisation and management of production, without forgetting for one moment about its undemocratic, exploiting nature which must be completely discarded. The utilisation, in the conditions of the new society, of all the best achievements of world culture does not mean an ideological compromise between socialism and capitalism.

As has been said, socialist culture assimilates the cultural elements of the past, with a progressive and human content, aimed at establishing a new system and discarding and destroying everything which serves the class interests of the exploiters.

These principles underlie the entire cultural policy of socialism. They acquire particular importance in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution which is unthinkable without the broadest possible dissemination and development of culture. Genuine achievements of culture, cultural values, great ideas in science and art—all these are fruits of man's creative activities and have always been not only the foundation of new creativity, but also a stimulus to it. Every discovery opens up new attitudes to the world around us and provides fresh impetus for creative endeavour, aimed at transforming this mundane world into a truly human one.

The Soviet Union has become another homeland for a great many Western artists. The U.S.S.R. is in the lead in the publication of the works of the best writers of the world. Yet figures are not the main thing, naturally. True works of art get a new lease of life in the Soviet Union, and serve to enrich man spiritually, for whom they are a source of creative inspiration: the great treasures of culture have accumulated in them mankind's spiritual and creative energy. And this energy finds fertile soil for its implementation in communist creativity. Man's spiritual requirements under communism are defined by the requirements of his creative endeavour. And in this case enlistment in cultural activities does not mean a passive assimilation of this or that set of values, but an active process of assimilation, whose main feature is the translation of the knowledge obtained into creative activities. And this actually means a continuous development of culture, constant translation of the things achieved into a new, continuous spiritual enrichment of all humanity.

It is here that we have a manifestation of the obvious advantages of the socialist system, which provides opportunities for the boundless growth of education and culture for the population as a whole—the goal of socialism is to shape a personality of all-round development. And if, with the development of the new technological basis, there must be a tremendous increase in the number of people trained for scientific and other creative activities, this very feature is a condition of the development of a new technological basis.

Hence, one can clearly see the decisive role of the cultural revolution in the competition of the two world systems.

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# WAITING FOR THE CROWTHER COMMISSION

## by Roy Thomas

NOWHERE is the impending report of the Commission on the Constitution, which was chaired by the late Lord Crowther, more eagerly awaited than in nationalist circles in Scotland and Wales. It was the resurgence of Celtic Nationalism in the mid-sixties that led to the setting up of the Commission in the first place, and the Welsh and Scottish nationalist parties, Plaid Cymru and the S.N.P., were amongst the first of many organisations that submitted evidence.

In assessing the arguments for a greater degree of autonomy for Scotland and Wales, Crowther has clearly had to pay particularly close regard to the economic implications. This was fully recognised by the nationalist parties, and Plaid Cymru as part of its evidence submitted a massive 300-page economic blueprint for a self-governing Wales! Lord Crowther is known subsequently to have commissioned a full-scale independent survey of the Welsh economy. The Commission also benefited by the appearance, in 1969 and 1971 respectively, of the Treasury's estimates of the budgetary positions of Scotland and Wales. These revealed very substantial overall deficits for both countries at a time when there was a quite considerable overall budget surplus for the U.K. as a whole.[1] A discussion of the significance of these results, in the context of the more general economic arguments for a greater measure of Celtic self-government, forms the subject of the present paper.

Anyone who supposes that the publication of the Treasury's budgets for Wales and Scotland would put an end to the controversy over the financial viability of establishing separate Welsh and Scottish governments must have been disappointed. The Scottish Budget which appeared on the eve of a parliamentary by-election in Scotland was promptly dismissed by the S.N.P. as nothing more than an exercise in electioneering. They were not alone in questioning the assumptions upon which the Treasury's estimates were based. The *Financial Times* commented, 'The Treasury document may well be described as an English attempt "to cook the books" '. These criticisms were not altogether unjustified. To take but one example, under present arrangements a firm's liability to corporation tax is assessed in the tax district in which its head office happens to be located. In view of the fact that many of the firms operating in Scotland are controlled from outside, the amount of corporation tax assessed in Scotland is hardly likely to provide an adequate indicator of the amount of tax actually attributable to Scotland.

An allowance for this factor was made in the Welsh Budget, and certainly the Treasury appears to have gone to a little more trouble in the preparation of this second document to anticipate criticisms of this kind. In view of the fact that the Welsh Budget unearthed a massive overall deficit of £182 million, the response on the part of the nationalists in Wales was, to say the least, unpredictable. Plaid Cymru argued in fact that given one or two

'reasonable' adjustments to the Treasury's figures, the document reinforced the party's case for self-government. To demonstrate the courage of their convictions they dispatched a telegram to the Chancellor urging him to arrange for the document to be made available in Post Offices throughout Wales!

The truth of the matter is that the Treasury's estimates in the cases of both Scotland and Wales are open to any number of different interpretations. Part of the problem is that most of the items which make up the accounts cannot be measured directly. For the most part, the Treasury's estimates were based on an apportionment of the total U.K. figures. The basis of apportionment is inevitably somewhat arbitrary. It follows that, although the Treasury estimates are almost certainly more accurate than the unofficial estimates that preceded them, they remain subject to a quite substantial margin of error. This is particularly true of the residual items on which the political protagonists tend to focus their attention. This is of course fully recognised by the Treasury itself, which stressed that its Welsh estimates 'should be taken as indicating broad orders of magnitude rather than precise accounting statistics'. Nevertheless this invariably tends to be overlooked in political debate.

Even more serious are the conceptual problems involved in attempting to make use of the accounts of Wales and Scotland with the central government as a basis for estimating the budgetary positions of hypothetical Welsh and Scottish governments. The main problems centre upon the treatment of defence expenditure and National Debt interest. It goes without saying that an apportionment of total U.K. defence expenditure to Wales and Scotland on a population ratio basis will not necessarily yield a meaningful estimate of what independent governments in the two countries would choose to spend on defence. This was recognised by the Treasury in the case of the Welsh estimates. In its search for an alternative basis for estimating a prospective Welsh government's defence effort, the Treasury examined the level of defence expenditure in a number of the smaller OECD countries. Unfortunately, all that seemed to emerge was that everything depended upon which country was chosen!

If Wales and Scotland were to attain self-government, then presumably they would be required to take over part of the U.K. National Debt. What one considers a fair allocation is again largely a matter of political prejudice. The Treasury seems to be of the opinion that apportionment on a population ratio basis would be more than fair to Scotland and Wales since it would appear that they have contributed more than proportionately to the past deficits of the U.K. government. This would be totally rejected by Celtic nationalists who would doubtless regard the National Debt as a legacy of England's imperial past! There is clearly no objective means whereby disputes of this nature can be satisfactorily resolved.

In view of the fact that so many different interpretations can be placed on the Treasury estimates, it is perhaps fortunate that in reality the budgetary positions of Wales and Scotland are far less significant than the arguments of the political parties would have us believe. At best they

can only provide us with a rough indication of the initial financial impact of self-government. The budgetary problem is essentially a problem of transition. If Scotland and Wales have anything to gain from self-government, one must look not to the short-term effects of cutting off the financial purse-strings that at present link them to Whitehall, but rather to the possibility of pursuing policies that are better suited to solving the long-term structural problems which they both face.

Throughout much of the post-war period, successive British governments have been pre-occupied with the problem of inflation. This inflationary pressure has to a very large extent emanated from the labour scarcity that has been a persistent feature until quite recently of the Midlands and the South East of England. Throughout this period the economies of Scotland and Wales have been characterised by labour surplus. The deflationary policies introduced by successive Chancellors to combat inflation have simply aggravated the unemployment situation in the peripheral areas of Wales and Scotland. It is true that the central government became increasingly aware of this situation during the course of the sixties, and strenuous efforts were made to re-dress the inter-regional imbalance within the U.K. economy. These efforts, however, met with only partial success and it is hardly surprising that by the mid-sixties more and more people had reached the conclusion that what was really needed in Scotland and Wales was the freedom to carry out independent policies specially geared to local requirements.

Unfortunately this is nowhere near as straightforward as it might appear. To suppose that Wales or Scotland would be free to pursue policies without regard for the economic circumstances pertaining beyond their borders is simply an illusion. The governments of all countries over the post-war period have found their freedom of economic manoeuvre severely curtailed by growing economic interdependence. This has long been true of monetary and fiscal policies, while the growth of multi-national corporations is posing a similar threat to the scope for independent action by national governments in the commercial and industrial spheres. Wales and Scotland, with their almost total dependence on 'foreign' trade, and with their manufacturing sectors dominated by outside concerns, would find their economic sovereignty curtailed more severely than most.

This has been recognised by both the S.N.P. and Plaid Cymru, who have made it clear that they do not favour any form of economic separatism. What they appear to envisage is some form of common market between the nations of Britain, within which there would be complete freedom of movement of goods, capital and labour. A common market agreement would of course rule out an independent tariff or trade policy. The freedom to devalue one's currency would also have to be restricted. It would be quite unrealistic to expect England to accept tariff-free trade, if its neighbours reserved the right to protect their industries by varying their exchange rates, thereby under-cutting English prices. In any case, within an area as closely integrated as Britain, freedom of movement of capital and labour would render an independent Welsh or Scottish devaluation

totally impracticable. If devaluation is to work it can do so only by effecting a relative reduction in a country's standard of living. A Scottish devaluation would almost certainly result either in acute wage pressure to compensate for the increased costs of imports, or in an outflow of labour attracted by the higher real wages in England. In either case it would be unsuccessful and it is significant that, in over forty years of independence, Eire has never contemplated such a step.

Complete freedom of movement of capital, goods and labour also calls for the harmonisation of fiscal and monetary policies. To take an obvious example, credit restrictions imposed by any one government would prove completely ineffective if investors were free to borrow without restriction in another member country. For much the same reason interest rate differentials would have to be largely eliminated. In the field of fiscal policy, there would clearly have to be complete harmonisation of indirect taxes on all tradeable commodities. If freedom of movement of labour was to be a reality, reciprocal social security arrangements would be required, while at the same time, in order to prevent artificial movements, the rates of benefit, together with the rates of personal taxation, would have to be co-ordinated. The field of company taxation might be thought to provide greater scope for variations in tax rates. The effective rates of company taxation already differ as between development and non-development areas. There is no reason why special fiscal incentives should not continue in problem areas, but once again there would appear to be a need for co-ordination to prevent the separate governments outbidding one another in their attempts to attract new industrial development.

All in all therefore, the type of common market treaty which has been advocated by Plaid Cymru and the S.N.P. would appear to lead to a very severe curtailment of economic sovereignty, and it is not clear to what extent the full implications of their proposals have been recognised by the nationalists themselves. A common market arrangement would also call for common institutions to co-ordinate the policies of the member governments. This also has been recognised by the nationalists, but once again the proposed functions and constitutional status of these institutions has not been clearly specified. If economic integration is to be completely effective, then it would seem essential to confer some executive powers upon these bodies. This in turn raises a number of constitutional issues. If these bodies were not made directly responsible to the electorate, there could well be serious political objections on democratic grounds. It is perhaps somewhat paradoxical that the desirability of ensuring democratic control would seem to point to some degree of political union!

Whatever form self-government takes, it is clear that the effective powers of economic control exercised by an independent Wales or Scotland would be subject to severe external constraints. Whether these constraints would be any less severe in the absence of a legal integration treaty is by no means certain. It could well be in fact that the constraints imposed by economic imperatives would be even more restrictive. In view of all this, what is the point of striving after self-government? Confronted with this

question, the nationalist parties might well point to the increased freedom to determine spending priorities. Plaid Cymru's economic blueprint spells out very clearly what the party considers these spending priorities should be.[2] Space does not permit a detailed consideration of its proposals. Suffice it to say that while some of the detailed plans to attract new industrial investment are almost certainly over-ambitious, there is much in the document which makes sound economic sense. The advocacy of the growth centre principle, the call for the establishment of more government research centres in which Wales at present is sadly lacking, the suggestion that resources should be diverted from teacher-training to technical education, together with plans for improvements in infrastructure, are among a number of carefully worked out proposals that could well, if implemented, create a more favourable climate for industrial expansion.

None of these suggestions, however, would appear to necessitate the complete autonomy which the Scottish and Welsh nationalists have traditionally espoused. Greater freedom to determine spending priorities within Wales and Scotland could be secured by establishing 'regional' governments, while maintaining the ultimate authority of the Westminster parliament. Some such solution might well provide the most satisfactory answer at the end of the day. There are very many matters of detailed planning with which Whitehall seems singularly ill-equipped to cope. The recourse to administrative devolution is itself a recognition of this very fact, and an extension of political devolution would seem to many the logical next step. A good many of the suggestions in Plaid Cymru's economic plan could, it is true, be implemented by a government in London, but there may well be some truth in the nationalists' contention that only governments based in Cardiff and Edinburgh would have the necessary resolve to push such proposals through.

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[1] Estimates of Central Government Revenue and Expenditure attributable to Scotland for the Financial Year, 1967-68, H.M. Treasury, October 1969. Estimates of Central Government Revenue and Expenditure attributable to Wales for the Financial Year, 1968-69, H.M. Treasury, September 1971.

[2] Plaid Cymru Research Group, *An Economic Plan for Wales*, Cardiff, 1970.

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# SOME ASPECTS OF TURKISH CULTURE

**by Feyyaz Fergar**

'WE have democracy but no cuisine', said an English friend of mine after a visit to Turkey. He came back smacking his lips in memory of all the succulent dishes with which he had 'enlightened' his palate. He added: 'We in this country throw everything into boiling water, as if we were on a witch-hunting expedition. Ours is a phlegmatic sort of cooking and the star dish on our national menu ought to be boiled stiff upper-lips. I met an extraordinary man in Turkey, a translator by profession. He said that he could cook for me lunch and dinner for three months without repeating himself, and that only on the basis of the Instanbul cuisine. I believed him implicitly. Items like "nightingale's nest", "the priest swooned", "woman's navel", "lover's lip" and "woman's thigh" have an excitingly poetic aura and their recipes should be written by a modern Andrew Marvell.'

History conditions memory and manipulates feelings. For a saddeningly large number of people the word 'Turk' triggers off a set of echolalic images such as the sword-brandishing janissar, the grave-worthy body of the sick man of Europe, or a pot-bellied hubble-bubble smoker. This in a way is not surprising, for many are the hilariously ignorant people who think that an 'icon' is some sort of cake from the North Country. But it is at times difficult to reject the idea that all that history does is to teach prejudice, hatred, malice; that is to say, the clichés that sustain and propel traditional emotions. It can be argued that history books bulge with concentration camps wherein to imprison supposedly non-grata nations. In such cases it becomes necessary to form escape committees to relieve the 'dark in the midst of blazing noon' and shed light on the past of peoples whose undeniable achievements have been obscured or belittled as a result of a persistent lack of understanding.

Enough emphasis has been laid on the Letter of the Zaparozhe Cossacks to the Sultan in Constantinople and on the general chorus of vilification of the Turk in Europe. But the virtues of Ottoman administration were conveniently ignored, although not by all. There were some exceptions, mostly diplomats of distinction who were impressed by what they saw and expressed their admiration in no uncertain words. Amongst these we must mention Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, who was Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople between 1554-1562. De Busbecq, dwelling on the system of meritocracy prevalent in the Ottoman Empire, had this to say: 'Those who receive the highest office from the Sultan are for the most part the sons of shepherds and herdsmen and so far from being ashamed of their parentage, they actually glory in it, and consider it a matter for boasting that they owe nothing to the accident of birth; for they do not believe that high qualities are either natural or hereditary, nor do they think that they can be handed down from father to son, but

that they are partly the gift of God, and partly the result of good training, great industry and unwearied zeal. Among the Turks, therefore, honours, high posts and judgeships are the rewards of great ability and good service. This is the reason that they are successful in their undertakings, that they lord it over others and are daily extending the bounds of their empire. These are not our ideas, with us there is no opening left for merit; birth is the standard for everything; the prestige of birth is the sole key to advancement in the public service.'

De Busbecq's sentiments are echoed even today by some Balkan nationals who admit that when their countries were under Ottoman rule, the Kadiyas (Turkish judges) earned the respect of the people with their integrity and sense of justice.

The Ottoman system of administration provided a forum where men of talent and with a sense of enterprise could distinguish themselves and rise to highly responsible positions. The doors to advancement were open not only to Turks but to foreigners as well. It was this fact which prompted Luther to exhort his countrymen, who happened to find themselves captives, to resist the lure of success and avoid the risk of becoming renegades.

Paolo Giovio in his work *Turcicarum Rerum Commentarius,* written in 1539, voices the opinion that in severity and justice the military discipline of the Ottomans surpassed that of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

The Turks might have been an awesome foe in the field of battle, but toleration was the hallmark of their attitude towards religion. Nobody tried to emulate the night of St. Bartholomew; God was not manipulated for bloody purposes. It must have been the religious carnage in France which prompted Jean Bodin, the author of *Six Books of the Republic* (1576) to write: 'The King of the Turks, who rules over a great part of Europe, safeguarded the rites of religion as well as any prince in this world. Yet he constrains no-one, but on the contrary permits everyone to live according as his conscience dictates. What is more, even in his seraglio he permits the practice of four diverse religions, that of the Jews, the Christian, according to the Roman rite, and according to the Greek rite, and that of Islam.'

There were no pass laws in the Ottoman Empire. There was no persecution such as the one which forced the so-called heretic Boghomils in Yugoslavia to adopt the Moslem faith in sheer desperation. There was no Inquisition, no pogroms either. It was the Turks who eventually opened their doors to the Jews, expelled by the united efforts of the Iberian Powers and their implacable Church. Some of these 'wandering Jews' who found a haven in Salonica and Constantinople were destined to rise to eminence in Ottoman affairs, notably Joseph Nasi who for services rendered in diplomacy and commerce was named Duke of Naxos by Selim II. We must point out here that this policy of munificence led to a situation which brought trade and commerce under the monopoly of foreign groups.

Whilst on the subject of religion, it would be appropriate to dwell briefly on Turkish architecture as exemplified by Sinan, architect to Soliman the Magnificent. Whereas the majority of mosques have an air of anonymity which bring to mind the Gothic Cathedrals of medieval times, Sinan's works bear the imprint of an outstanding and individual genius. A janissar for 30 years, he earned promotion by his ability as a bridge-builder and was appointed Chief Architect in 1539. He was then almost 50. Until his death at the age of 98 he erected a total of 334 buildings, including 131 mosques. A truly herculean labour. At the risk of being accused of blasphemy and disrespect towards the rules of established appreciation, I shall have to confess that I have always found St. Sophia an imposing but rather heavy and muscular edifice with a suspicion of brooding authority. I cannot help comparing it with the Suleymaniye Mosque built by Sinan in the middle of the sixteenth century. Sinan must have learnt a lot from St. Sophia whose architecture is based on ranks of half-domes rising together to support the great central dome. He was helped by his faultless sense of symmetry and proportion. As opposed to what I am inclined to define as the relative ungainliness of St. Sophia, Sinan's masterpiece, the Suleymaniye Mosque achieves architectural levitation. The serried half-domes lift themselves up to meet the main dome. This progression, this crescendo of forms has a Bach-like quality. It is choral-music become shape and stone. The interior of the mosque is just as inspiring, the ceiling has an almost galactic impact. The fact that Sinan was of foreign extraction does not merit the criticism that the Turks' greatest mosque-builder was a non-Turk. What is important is that he was inspired by Turkish culture and therefore a product of it. Nobody can argue, for instance, that Samuel Beckett's *En Attendant Godot* is not an indivisible part of contemporary French Theatre, but simply a piece of Irish literature. By the same token the American origins of Julien Green do not in any way affect his position as one of the important French novelists of modern times.

Of all the arts which contributed to the growth of Turkish culture poetry is probably the most important and enjoys a long and sustained tradition. The roots of Turkish poetry stretch back to the eighth century. The earliest Turkish poems are epics singing the heroism of Turkish nomadic tribes, relating their deeds and their conquests. Migrating westwards in the ninth century into the Caucasus and Anatolia the Turks came under the spell of Islam. The impact of Islamic culture resulted in a new form of poetic tradition known as Divan Poetry. This was the beginning of a new era of sense and sensibility. Here is an early and anonymous example of Turkish poetry translated by Lord Dunsany.

> The cup from which you try to draw content,
> If you knew,
> Has from its rim a thousand echoes sent
> As sad as you.

The Divan or classical period of Turkish poetry produced under the influence of Arab and Persian literatures great figures like Fuzuli, Baki

and Nedim. But excessive dependence on predecessors such as Hafiz a Sadi led Turkish poets into the morass of imitation. The depth and gracefulness of stylisation which flourished in the hands of the great poets gave way to a state of stagnation and dessication in the works of versifiers. The monotony of imagery had a strangling effect on poetic vision. Writing had become a game of transfers. Poets had muzzled themselves with irremediably static themes. All that could be done was to churn out variations on defunct subjects. The alembic of inspiration had nothing to distil. The rose which was always mobilised to address the beloved, to describe her cheeks, was now the tombstone of love. One is reminded here of William Blake's line:

'O rose, thou art sick.'

But this particular rose was beyond any doctoring. The classical *genre* of poetry went hobbling on until the nineteenth century which saw, as the Turkish critic Yasar Nabi puts it, 'the emergence of a hybrid oriental-occidental view.' The dominant influence was French culture. 'Paris has replaced Shiraz', wrote E. J. W. Gibb.

Divan poetry is now a thing of the past, whereas the tradition of folk poetry, which goes back to the thirteenth century, is still alive today. It was the dead-end reached by the Divan poetry, and the Serveti Fünun literature which followed it, that brought about the need for re-orientation. The poetic north was found in folk poetry, in the simplicity of its language, in its essential 'Turkishness'. Poets like Ziya Gokalp never achieved greatness, but gave the rudder of literary language a sound direction.

With the emergence of the Turkish Republic in 1923 poetry found the opportunity for manifold maturity. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpinar, Nazim Hikmet, Ahmet Muhip Dranas and others produced works of seminal importance. A contemporary of theirs, Cahit Sitki Taranci, deserves special attention. He was not a poet given to visionary displays.

He wrote simply but profoundly:

Where to at this time of night
Beautiful train, solitary train?
Bitter was the sound of your whistle
Bringing so many things to mind,
Why should I not wave my handkerchief?
All your passengers are more or less close to me.
Go then, I wish you a safe journey,
I wish you strong bridges and bright tunnels.

Three other poets, Orhan Veli, Oktay Rifat and Melih Cevdet contributed to the development of Turkish poetry with an even greater simplicity of diction. They took the viscosity of the poetic out of poetry and achieved in the late 'thirties the equivalent of 'the poetry of understatement' which made its appearance in Britain with the *New Lines* anthology.

Orhan Veli was like the Auden of this triumvirate. It was he who formulated its attitude and aims. In a way, writing poetry is the art of avoiding superfluous words. If wordiness was the norm, one could

pour the contents of a whole dictionary into one single poem. Orhan Veli felt acutely the inadequacies of the poet. In a poem which should have been entitled *Raid on the Inarticulate* he expresses his shortcomings:

I never knew songs could be
So lovely and words so short
Until I fell under this spell.

There is a place, I know,
Where language tells
Sometimes I feel I'm almost there,
But I can't put it into words.

Only a poet could belittle himself in such a creative way. Simplicity is also a distinguishing feature of Melih Cevdet's poetry. But in his later works we see him moving towards a more intellectual approach. In the long poem, *Odysseus Bound,* we come across these lines compressing image and thought into a prismatic hardness. It is Odysseus musing in a cosmogonic mood:

A seagull wrenched the sea from its roots
And held it swinging in its beak
The wind grew feathers on the bird.
Denser and closer with time
The thunder became a tree.

*Translated by N. Menemencioglu*

Oktay Rifat, the third member of this group, is the poet of love and freedom. Even in his more complicated poems where the influence of Surrealism is evident, his accent maintains its warmth and clarity:

These are the streets of joyful days
These are the people of joyful days
Or else you could neither stop nor walk.

*Translated by T. Baybars*

One should also mention E. B. Lav who in the early thirties created quite a stir with poems of an experimental nature. Concern for justice is the dominant theme in a book of a more recent date. In it Lav speaks for the African:

The palms of my hands are white
The soles of my feet are white
The white of my eyes is white
I am three times white.
What else is there left?
How much whiter can I get?

One poet who developed a language all his own is Fazil Hüsnü Daglarca, who, in 1968 was given the Turkish Award of the International Poetry Forum. His poetry bears no trace of foreign influence. Daglarca's poetry reminds one at times of rock-formations. Daglarca has a power of vision encompassing the great and small alike. In one of his poems echoing the grandeur of the Ottoman past he confronts us with an imaginary ruler who says:

Here in my white hands
The morning of my people begins.

Noble, strong, handsome and absolute
As far as the mind can conjecture,

I am Halim the Third.
Mountains everywhere, who are you?

Yet the arrogant beauty of this accent can give way to a deep feeling of tenderness. Here as an example is a poem translated by T. S. Halman:

The widow's
Cat
Is warmer
Than the bride's cat.

Daglarca's poetry has a quality which, for want of a better definition, may be called 'dark simplicity'. This, in the sense that Lorca used the adjective 'dark'. Sometimes he comes upon us with questions which leave us with alternate feelings of plentitude and anxiety:

Stop now. All the mothers have given birth,
Who then is pregnant?

Daglarca's poems are full of mysterious tropisms. You feel them germinating, slowly stirring, seeking sun-carrying words or breathing through stone and leaf. He has also written some of the most beautiful poems on childhood. He describes the world of the child with its luminosity, its magic and pain. He says in one of these poems:

Go child, go and pray
Before your hands get dirty.

Of his committed poetry, *Mother Earth* is among the best. In it he rejoins the tradition of the old folk poets and raises his voice to express his fellow-feeling for the peasants. He becomes earth and seed, plough and plant. In his hands the most ordinary utensils acquire Grail-like qualities and human dimensions. He is the voice of compassion. Daglarca stands for the pride and dignity of man; also for brotherly love. In his book *The Agony of the West,* he dismisses religious discrimination and addresses Jesus:

Like a hunted animal
Your body lies stretched on the cross,
But your time, in all directions,
Dwells in us.
Your palms enduring in this world
Declare that we are friends.

What Daglarca wants is:

Not the day of judgement
But the day of understanding.

Few are the younger modern Turkish poets who are not indebted to him. One of these is B. Necatigil. But the influence here is linguistic. Necatigil's world is different. He burrows like a mole into the dark minutiae of life. His poems are like miniature domes under which reverberate inscrutable intimations of mortality.

Among the younger generation, Turgut Uyar and Ilhan Berk have played a leading role in the development of Turkish poetry in the post-war years. Both of them have a lyrical voice of some stature and have helped to enrich the scope of poetry. One finds echoes of western poets like Walt Whitman, Lorca and St. John Perse in their work, but no trace of sheephish imitation.

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## TWO KINDS OF BRILLIANCE

*Titans and Others*. Malcolm MacDonald. Collins. £2.25.
*A Chapter of Accidents*. Goronwy Rees. Chatto and Windus. £2.75.

Let us assume, as I believe we should, that the authors of these two books are among the most brilliant members of their respective generations, Malcolm MacDonald born in 1901, Goronwy Rees eight years later. It is tempting to see in them a classical contrast between the wise and the foolish virgin, between the qualities that make for mundane success and the opposite weaknesses. In the one case we find a noble self-fulfilment, many high offices held, many honours deserved and accorded. In the other a significant career blighted by a strange friendship leading to an extraordinary indiscretion. To see the matter that way is to over-simplify; to ignore for example Rees's literary excellence always and solid achievements of recent years. But it contains an undeniable element of truth. The antithesis is well-illustrated by their selection of characters. Malcolm MacDonald picks out seven titans, national leaders from all parts of the globe. Goronwy Rees produces only one major personality, the now fabulous Guy Burgess, old Etonian charmer, homosexual, academic golden boy, a self-confessed Communist spy and ultimately defector.

Of the MacDonald essays that which deals with his father, Ramsay MacDonald, is incomparably the best. He argues, vividly and truly, that we should judge him on his first sixty-five years and not on the last six, when he was virtually worn-out (with Churchill it was to be the other way round). Ramsay MacDonald emerges as a powerful creative figure, loving and lovable. There will be not a few who, like myself, will feel quite differently about him in the future. The de Valera essay is of much historical value, though Mr. MacDonald's exceptional generosity to Dr. O'Neill and myself in writing our life of de Valera has spilt a number of the beans. Malcolm MacDonald as one might expect of him rather under-estimates his own part in promoting the crucial Anglo-Irish Settlement of 1938. In fact he transformed the whole approach of the Baldwin-Chamberlain government.

The essay on Churchill is the coolest and least affectionate. The author tries hard to be fair and refers repeatedly to his heroic war leadership, but he cannot resist describing him as 'in some ways a foolishly narrow-minded and out-of-date politician in peace time', for all his brilliance. To the outside eye at least Churchill never forgave Malcolm MacDonald for the so-called surrender of the Irish ports and packed him off to Canada at the first opportunity.

There remain Achmad Sukarno, Prince Sihanouk, Jawaharlal Nehru and Jomo Kenyatta. One is left with some sense of a common pattern which Mr. MacDonald might fruitfully develop on another occasion. Achmad Sukarno we are told 'was a giant, but a giant with feet of clay'. In that respect he seems to have been an extreme case, but the human weaknesses of all, usually including vanity, have not deterred MacDonald from fervent admiration. His strong and warm responses to their qualities, positive and negative, including their immense popular appeal and their exciting private personalities, obviously helped to make him an envoy of extraordinary comprehension and effectiveness.

There are many fascinating side issues in Goronwy Rees's book, especially when he is writing of his family, of Wales and of Oxford. But the drama inevitably centres on his long enigmatic relationship with Guy Burgess, present and absent, while he was alive and even in a sense after his death.

The first big event, though they had known each other for some time by then, occurred in the later 1930s (1936 or 1937). Goronwy Rees and Guy Burgess were sitting in Goronwy Rees's flat 'with, as usual, a bottle of John Jameson's whisky between us'. 'I want to tell you', said Burgess slowly, 'that I am a Comintern agent and have been ever since I came down from Cambridge. I want you to work with me, to help me.' Goronwy Rees gave him a non-committal reply.

For many years he could never bring himself to clarify the issue adequately, although it continued to haunt him. Then came the shattering moment, in 1951, when Burgess seems to have disappeared. Rees at last saw his duty clearly. He reported to the Security Authorities the suspicions which had nagged him for so long, but by that time they were not unduly grateful.

All very odd, one may think, but it was nothing to what came later. Five years passed and Burgess and MacLean appeared together at a Press Conference in Moscow. Once again Rees underwent a traumatic experience. He came to see Burgess 'as one . . . who had voluntarily engaged in the cruel and murderous operations of an organisation which was directly responsible for the destruction of millions of people by death, torture, starvation and any other means which its ingenuity could devise to achieve that purpose. He was, no doubt, my friend; he was also a man with blood on his hands.' He sat down and wrote the whole story of the friendship. Suitably or unsuitably adapted, it appeared anonymously in a Sunday newspaper and the fat was properly in the fire.

By this time Goronwy Rees was Principal of Aberystwith University College, a phase of his life which he describes mordantly and mercilessly. When the truth about the articles came out, as it was bound to, Rees after considerable in-fighting was induced to resign. He had wrecked his whole career as it stood at that time, for no reason that then or later made any obvious sense. And this too, from a Fellow of All Souls with a first-class military record and no small responsibility for planning the invasion of Normandy.

Why on earth did he do it? He provides some explanations which are not easily evaluated. His reference to 'the higher lunacy' disarms a prolonged criticism. For myself I shall always think of him as a greatly gifted man, to whom literature mattered more than life or, at any rate, was an overwhelming factor in life; a man who, almost in spite of himself, was driven to self-expression whatever the prudential cost. Obsessed with this strange dominating human material for so long, it was inevitable that at a certain moment he should tell the tale. Whatever his earlier errors, he has told it here with compulsive artistry. I cannot imagine not wanting to read any further book he writes, whether or not the unhappy Guy Burgess comes into it.

LONGFORD

## APPLYING THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY

*Parliament and Congress.* Kenneth Bradshaw and David Pring. Constable. £4.50. 1972.

When John Bright uttered his now famous words, over a century ago, that England was the Mother of Parliaments, few of his contemporaries at home or abroad felt tempted to quarrel with his assertion. Thomas Erskine May, Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, wrote in the Preface to the fourth (1859)

edition of his standard treatise on British *Parliamentary Practice* that 'the Author, having received gratifying acknowledgments of the utility of his work in several of the British Colonies, and in the United States of America, has endeavoured to adapt it still more to the requirements of those legislative bodies, in all parts of the world, in which the rules of the British Parliament have been adopted . . .' May had good cause to be gratified. Three years earlier the great American academic lawyer, Luther Stearns Cushing, had published in Boston his *Elements of the Law and Practice of Legislative Assemblies of the United States of America.* Cushing was greatly influenced by, and drew heavily upon, the earlier editions of Erskine May's work: it has been estimated that there are well over 400 references to May in Cushing's work!

Long before May and Cushing came upon the scene, moreover, Vice-President Thomas Jefferson had prepared a Manual of procedure for his own guidance in directing the proceedings of the Senate—a work which is still said to be the best statement of *British* parliamentary law and practice at the time. That was in 1796. Nothing could make plainer, as Mr. Bradshaw and Mr. Pring point out in the *Introduction* to their admirably researched and well-written comparative study, the shared heritage of the two greatest legislatures in the free world.

Yet today, such Anglo-American political comparisons as are made dwell predominantly on the marked *differences* between Parliament and Congress. The chief divergence is of course the presence in Parliament of ministers—who bring the power of the government, or executive, into the two Chambers—and their absence from Congress. Debate in Parliament, as the authors rightly emphasise at the outset, is a constant exchange between the government and the governed through their elected representatives. Congress does not contain this governmental motive force. As a result, political power within Congress is much more fragmented, much more widely distributed, than it is at Westminster; the House of Representatives and the Senate, moreover, are both elective bodies and (in contrast to the unequal balance of power between the two Houses of Parliament) wield broadly equal rights and powers within the legislature. Then there are the enormous differences between the respective uses which Parliament and Congress make of their Committees.

Whether one agrees or not with the authors' view that today 'a width of incomprehension, an Atlantic of the mind' separate Parliament from Congress, Mr. Bradshaw and Mr. Pring are certainly right in claiming that the extent of present constitutional differences seems to have discouraged a truly comparative approach to the two legislatures in this century. A vast literature deals separately with the British and American political systems; but George B. Galloway's short study of *Congress and Parliament* (published in the United States only, in 1955) appears to be the only reasonably recent work devoted entirely to a comparison of the two.

The present detailed study aims, successfully and opportunely, at filling the gap. I quote (because I cannot improve on their own words) the authors' declaration of intent:

> Our aim has been to describe the working methods of each legislature in as much detail as the practitioners and students of each may require. By placing them whenever necessary in their constitutional and historical setting, it is possible to show why they have taken their present form. We do not attempt to make judgments, or to show that one system, or within that system one set of practices, is better than another. We have tried to describe objectively the origin

and nature of each system in enough detail for its advantages and disadvantages to emerge. The debate on merits can continue, but with its factual basis more secure.

*Parliament and Congress* begins with a comparative account of leadership, of the way in which power is wielded in the two assemblies. The authors deal next with the membership of Parliament and of Congress, before moving on to compare ('First Chambers') the House of Commons with the House of Representatives, and ('Second Chambers') the House of Lords with the Senate. A vital chapter on Committees follows: British and American readers alike will find this account of the different origins, powers and methods of the two systems particularly interesting and informative. Legislation and Finance are compressed each into a single chapter, and the authors conclude by comparing Scrutiny and Control of the Executive in Parliament and Congress. The last section of this chapter is devoted to Foreign Affairs and the book ends, a trifle abruptly but interestingly, with the point that 'it can be said of Congress, to an extent that it could never be said of Parliament, that there are times when it initiates foreign policy'.

Mr. Bradshaw and Mr. Pring have both been Clerks of the House of Commons for more than twenty years, and their combined professional experience of the British Parliament—supplemented by visits to Congress and by many transatlantic friendships—has admirably suited them to undertake this major and much needed task. The result is an authoritative, scholarly and (praise be!) enjoyably readable book, complete with a good Index, which should be a standard source for many years to come. Inevitably, there are some compressions and omissions: one would like to have seen rather more space devoted to the work of the parliamentary and congressional staffs (to the Congressional Research Service in Washington, for example), while the absence of a consolidated Bibliography is only partially compensated by the frequent excellent footnotes. However, these are minor points. I enjoyed the book and learned much from it, and I have no doubt that many students, practitioners and interested laymen on both sides of the Atlantic will do likewise.

DAVID MENHENNET

## INNOCENCE AND GUILT

*Murderer Scot-Free.* Robert F. Hussey. David and Charles. £2.50.
*My Experience as an Executioner.* James Berry. Edited by Jonathan Goodman. David and Charles. £1.95.

Despite the passage of forty-one years, and the publication of four major works on the subject, the question of the innocence or guilt of William Herbert Wallace in the matter of uxoricide continues to exercise an abiding fascination for a surprising number of people.

Wallace, a Liverpool insurance agent in a very humble way of business, stood trial in 1931 for the savage battering to death in the front parlour of their Anfield terrace house of his wife, Julia. The jury found him guilty. He appealed, and the appeal court allowed the appeal on the unprecedented ground that the verdict had been returned on the basis of insufficient evidence. The result was that Wallace found himself freed—of everything except a terrible suspicion which was to follow him, close and ineradicable as a shadow, to the day of his death, two years later. Had that remorseless shadow any substance? Jonathan Goodman, author of a most penetrating, painstaking and persuasively argued account which must surely rate as the definitive monograph on the case, *The Killing of Julia Wallace,* is both convinced, and convincing, regarding Wallace's complete innocence. So, in an earlier work,

*The Wallace Case,* was John Rowland. And so, in this latest volume, *Murderer Scot-Free,* is Robert F. Hussey.

Mr. Hussey is an American, and has been a life-long student of Anglo-American criminal law. He has brought a considerable amount of ingenuity to what he calls 'a solution to the Wallace puzzle'. He has read everything that he could lay his hands on, visited the scenes of the crime, trial and appeal, and talked with spectators at, and participants in, Wallace's trial. His book is really a brief for the defence, brilliantly handled. Carefully, systematically, he refutes, point by point, the dishonestly constructed prosecution case. Then, the crown evidence lying in fragments about him, he proceeds to pick up the jig-saw pieces and fashion *from them* a totally new construct. Those circumstantial ambiguities which were held to be so damning to Wallace become the bulwarks of his innocence, and a very much more plausible murderer is pinpointed. The death of Mrs. Wallace was not, he contends, the result of *planned* murder at all. It is a virtuoso performance, and one of the best books in this genre that I have read for many a year.

If that Liverpool jury had had its way, Wallace would have made the brief and unhappy acquaintance of a professional successor of the late Mr. James Berry, who, should the name ring no tocsin in your memory, was the official hangman between the years 1884 and 1892. After his retirement, Berry published an account of his professional life, *My Experiences as an Executioner.* The book, which became exceedingly rare, has now been reprinted, embellished with an introduction and appendices by Jonathan Goodman.

Apart from its psychological fascination, affording as it does a unique glimpse into the mind of a man who contrived to erect a mental self-defence against the intrinsic stress of having habitually to perform a disagreeable and socially despised task, it is a work of the utmost penological interest. The compensatory mechanism which Berry's subconscious devised was to categorise his function as a mere extension of the process initiated by the police and ratified by the judge. This enabled him to regard his activities with a clinical detachment which adds an almost scientific dimension to his objective account of the mechanics of hanging and his meticulous notes of the crisis responses of those who found themselves committed to his hands.

Mr. Hangman Berry's book is a significant social document and should be read by all whose interest is engaged by the vexed question of the return of capital punishment.

RICHARD WHITTINGTON-EGAN

## TWO RUSSIAN NOVELISTS

*A Daring Coiffeur.* Elizabeth Gunn. Chatto and Windus. £1.50.
*Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: the Major Novels.* Abraham Rothberg. Cornell University Press, 2-4 Brook Street, London W. £2.95.

Two books on two great Russian novelists commend themselves. One, under the provoking title *A Daring Coiffeur,* arose from Miss Elizabeth Gunn's 'Reflections' on Tolstoy's 'War and Peace' and 'Anna Karenina' and consists of two subtle and life-searching studies of these famous novels. In the first she quotes Tolstoy as saying, 'The aim of the artist is not to resolve a question irrefutably, but to compel one to love life in all its manifestations, and these are inexhaustible . . .' And he continues, 'If I were told that what I would write would be read twenty years from now by those who are children today, and that they would weep and laugh over it and fall in love with the life in it, then I would dedicate all my existence and all my powers to it'. But Miss Gunn

comments: 'The paradox remains: he was to dedicate all his existence and all his powers to denying these very words, to denying the value of earthly life, of tears, laughter, love, to laying down the law and writing tracts, to what Gorki in Nietzsche's phrase terms "a negation of all affirmations" '. Miss Gunn carries her incisive investigation of Tolstoy's self-revelation of the sensualist-turned-puritan-moralist into her essay on the other, greater, novel 'Anna Karenina' which she describes as 'a fully adult work. Its themes are those of sexual love and death, and, too, that actions have consequences which we can no longer, as when young, lightly leave behind . . . It is this new restraint, a new complexity, that sets the second book above the first.'

Emerging from these detailed comparisons the reader is impelled irresistibly to re-read the two great Tolstoy novels, and preferably in the light of biographical revelation.

In his timely and powerful book on the life and novels of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (Nobel Prize winner in Literature for 1970) Dr. Abraham Rothberg answers most of the questions which arise in Western minds regarding this symbol figure in the contemporary Russian scene. Born in December 1918 in the Caucasus, Solzhenitsyn studied mathematics and physics and graduated from the University of Rostov. He served as an artillery officer in the Red Army during World War II and was twice decorated for bravery. All seemed set fair for him, but suddenly, during the battle of Konigsberg, in East Prussia, he was stripped of his captaincy and decorations, arrested and put into the dreaded Lubianka Prison. He was accused of slandering Stalin in letters to a friend (read by counter-intelligence in the military mail) and was sentenced to eight years in a labour camp. After four years as a mathematician in a prison research institute, followed by four years in a Kazakhstan concentration camp, he underwent a cancer operation before completing his sentence but still being required to live permanently in exile in Siberia. Further hospital treatment arrested the cancer, and when the Stalin era finished he, like many others, was rehabilitated and for six years taught mathematics in a ten-year school a hundred miles from Moscow. *He spent his spare time writing.*

Dr. Rothberg tells how Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical novel 'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich' was published in 1962 in *Novy mir* with the express approval of Kruschev against the objections of the Politburo. He quotes one of Solzhenitsyn's translators as saying, 'Within a day all of the ninety-five thousand copies of the magazine were snapped up by eager Russians' and the novel soon won international fame. Two translations were published in New York in the next year. The story is one of almost documentary recording of a single day's events in a Siberian concentration camp. It observes the classical unities of time, place and action and depicts a cross section of Soviet society building a wall. As Dr. Rothberg suggests, the narrative method has its limitations, but 'the microcosm of this Siberian penal colony reflects the macrocosm of that greater penal colony, Russia'; and as Solzhenitsyn himself said in an interview in 1967, 'I have always felt that to write about the fate of Russia was the most fascinating and important task to be performed. Tolstoy once said that a novel can deal with either centuries of European history or a day in one man's life'. How this unflinching documentary novel, passed by Kruschev, was received by the ruling powers may be gauged by the Party's defeat of the proposal to award the author the Lenin Prize. In that year (1964) Solzhenitsyn completed 'The First Circle', only to have the manuscript seized and confiscated by the secret police. A companion book to 'Ivan Denisovich', it portrays, in Dr. Rothberg's words, 'four days in December 1949 in the lives

of a quite different class of prisoners—Soviet intelligentsia—and quite different circumstances of imprisonment' in a Special Prison staffed by prisoners who are physicists, mathematicians, engineers, and technicians, 'all working on a special electronics project under the baleful supervision of the political police'.

Solzhenitsyn's other main novel, 'Cancer Ward', is set in the Tashkent hospital where he himself was a patient, and Dr. Rothberg describes it as dealing 'with two major ethical problems: freedom and personal sovereignty; and evil and disease'. In 1967 the author was attacked by a number of fellow-writers for using the cancer ward as a symbol of society in the Soviet Union.

What is clear from Dr. Rothberg's well-proportioned study is that Solzhenitsyn has built from persecution and martyrdom a personal faith and vision which he uses to denounce oppression and promote freedom and social justice.

WILLIAM KEAN SEYMOUR

# SHORTER REVIEWS

**The British Museum** (Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, £2.95). This is an impressive and erudite addition by Dr. J. Mordaunt Crook to the *Architect and Society* series. He is concerned centrally with the building of the Museum and its architecture. He sets this in the history of museums, the origin of the British Museum itself in 1723, based on the three foundation collections of Sir Robert Cotton, Robert Harley and Sir Hans Sloane, its subsequent remarkable growth and the political, social and artistic considerations which led to Sir Robert Smirke's Neo-classical monumental structure, commenced in the 1820s. Dr. Mordaunt Crook has a great deal to say about Sir Robert Smirke and the classical revival. He discusses other buildings both at home and abroad under the same influence. He concludes that 'the British Museum was essentially British in its conception. Its architect was by no means insular, but he borrowed the idea of the great colonnade not from a German but from an Irishman. And he derived the idea of the great forecourt and quadrangle not from the Farnese Palace, nor even from the visions of the French *grand prix*, but from a series of topographical accidents.... Smirke's Neo-classicism was a synthetic style'. The increase in the Museum's library was so great that additional accommodation soon became essential; and the author has a fascinating chapter upon the conception and design of the famous Round Reading Room built by Sir Robert Smirke's younger brother, Sydney. The latter wrote that 'it was Michael Angelo's cupola at St. Peter's which suggested the present lines' of the dome, with its diameter of 140 feet. Dr. Mordaunt Crook, on the basis of this building, concludes that 'it is hard to resist the conclusion that Professor Sydney Smirke, R.A., was a first-rate constructor but no more than a first-class, second-rate architect'. He concedes, however, that this impression may be partly due to the incomplete decoration of the Reading Room. The volume ends with the controversy over the siting of the extensions to the Museum. He is strongly a Bloomsbury advocate. The book is well produced and lavishly illustrated.

**Encyclopaedic World Dictionary** (Hamlyn, £4.95). This massive work edited by Patrick Hanks is an ambitious project which greatly appeals for its comprehension and research. The volume is based upon the *American College Dictionary*. It contains 150,000 entries, and includes 65,000 scientific and technological definitions, 7,000 biological entries with 220 maps,

7,000 historical references, Australian, American and South African words, as well as slang, vogue and taboo expressions. The editor has been assisted by special consultants in academic and technical fields, as well as in sport. The dictionary 'is a full and detailed record of Modern English on modern linguistic principles'; and 'the editor's first concern has been to describe the vocabulary common to all or most brands of English in the fullest and clearest possible form'. The work claims to be the first general dictionary published in England since the Oxford English Dictionary was completed forty years ago to take account of 'a significant shift in the vocabulary and preoccupations of most educated English-speaking people'. How far is the encyclopaedic information really up to date? Take, for example, the entry, 'Church Assembly': it reads 'a consultative council of the Church of England established in 1919 and elected every five years. It debates the practical application and effects of higher decision'. It was, of course, abolished in November 1970 and replaced by synodical government, with a General Synod, marking a radical change in the church's government. Knowledge of this change was well known for some time before. If editorial production precludes the work from being up to date at the time of publication, then, as in the case of many legal textbooks, the volume should state at the outset the date to which the volume as a whole relates for accuracy; or, as it does for population figures, give in the relevant entry the date relied upon.

**The Histories of Herodotus** (Dent, 2 volumes, 50p each). This Everyman Paperback reprints the Everyman edition of Rawlinson's translation, first published in this series in 1910. It was last reprinted in 1964. The first volume contains the first four books of Herodotus's work, and the second covers books five to nine. As in the previous edition, all the essays in Rawlinson's original volume have been omitted, leaving the texts with abbreviated notes.

**The Bhagavad Gita** (Gita Publishing House, Poona 1, India, £1 or $3). The late Sri T. L. Vaswani (1879-1966), Indian mystic, philosopher, educationist and humanitarian, produced this English translation with explanatory notes of 'The Song of Life' which many thinkers and poets in many lands regard as the greatest philosophic poem in the world's literature. A number of scholars believe that the Gita belongs to the fifth century B.C. It is a world-scripture with a world-message and prompts instant and close comparison with Christian teachings in the New Testament.

**The Publishing Game** (Jonathan Cape, £2.00). In this witty and practical book Mr. Anthony Blond, himself a publisher for thirteen years after five years' experience as a literary or author's agent, discusses the 'trade' in a direct, informative and often challenging way, the main themes being Authors, Literary Agents, How to Produce Books, How to Sell Books and The Economics of Publishing. One vital section discusses Publishing in the United States, which as most informed people know, has a direct bearing on British publishing. Taxation and the economics of production and selling receive much shrewd attention, and among current publishing problems Mr. Blond has a neat little chapter on Defamation and Obscenity. Five appendixes and a bibliography and a ten-page index complete a compact and sparkling book; but it is only fair to add that Messrs. Cape draw the reviewer's attention 'to the fact that the statement appearing on page 80 that Macmillan "has registered losses for three years running" is entirely untrue and is unreservedly withdrawn'.

# Contemporary Review

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## THE MATURITY OF A CRUSADE

by Peter Archer, Q.C., M.P.

A CRUSADE is born when a spontaneous outburst of indignation meets an equally spontaneous response from others. Early in 1961, Peter Benenson, a London barrister, was glancing through a newspaper in the course of a tube journey, when his eye fell on an account of some students in Portugal, imprisoned because they had taken part in a peaceful demonstration which had not commended itself to the government. There must have been others who read the story, and whose blood boiled. But Benenson determined to channel the energy generated by boiling blood.

To a few friends he suggested that something might be done to focus public attention on the problem. For if governments were to be dissuaded from such conduct, the only weapon to hand was the effect of public indignation. They decided to launch a campaign. The first Background Notes (cyclostyled for the use of supporters) announced that 'Appeal for Amnesty 1961' had been launched by a group of lawyers, writers and publishers in London. They were 'of differing political and religious views, but are united by the underlying acceptance of Voltaire's dictum: "I detest your views, but am prepared to die for your right to express them".' The purpose was 'to work for the release of Prisoners of Conscience (those physically restrained from expressing an honestly-held opinion which does not advocate violence); and for guarantees of Freedom of Opinion and Religion in all countries'. The campaign was to be initiated at a press conference on May 29, and was to reach its culmination at Christmas, when governments might be persuaded to make a gesture of goodwill towards their opponents.

The initial Notes on Organisation (similarly cyclostyled) admitted:

'As a campaign of short duration it cannot expect to achieve any great number of releases, or improvements in the laws guaranteeing freedom. What it can do is (a) set a tide running in the world against persecution of people for their ideas, (b) set up organisms which over the years may prove effective in bringing about both releases and improvements in the law'.

The *Observer* of May 28 carried an article by Benenson entitled 'The Forgotten Prisoners'. The article concluded:

> The success of the 1961 Amnesty Campaign depends on how sharply and powerfully it is possible to rally public opinion. It depends, too, on the campaign being all-embracing in its composition, international in character and politically impartial in direction. Any group is welcome to take part which is prepared to condemn persecution regardless of where it occurs, who is responsible or what ideas are suppressed. How much can be achieved when men and women of goodwill unite was shown during World Refugee Year. Inevitably, most of the action called for by Appeal for Amnesty 1961 can only be taken by governments. But experience shows that in matters such as these governments are prepared to follow only where public opinion leads. Pressure of opinion a hundred years ago brought about the emancipation of the slaves. It is now for man to insist upon the same freedom for his mind as he has won for his body.

The article evoked an unexpected number of letters, some donations, and editorial support in a large number of internationally influential newspapers. To administer the financial contributions, a Prisoner of Conscience Fund was established as a charitable trust, the trustees being six eminent politicians and churchmen, selected to represent a wide variety of opinions. A central office, manned by volunteer helpers, collected and disseminated information about prisoners of conscience. And the movement produced a fortnightly bulletin called *Amnesty*, with a highly professional format.

But these things do not constitute a crusade. Isolating from the world's news a principle worth invoking is an activity which appeals largely to intellectuals. What changes a few pamphleteers into the vanguard of a crusade is a response from numbers of ordinary people, who recognise the principle as important, and turn protests into votes. This, of course, was the object of the planned campaign, and the professional use of mass media. But there was some doubt whether freedom of thought and personal liberty might not prove to be too abstract a concept for public consumption. Hungry children are within the experience of most. Political prisoners belong to another world.

We had underestimated the intellectual capacity and the conscience of the public. The *Observer* article also produced a harvest of offers to help from people in offices, schools, churches and factories. And it was here that Amnesty found its greatest source of moral strength. As the purpose was to work not for ideologies and theories but for people, so the means was to channel the concern of people. We set up a system of local groups, consisting of neighbours, colleagues at the same workplace or fellow worshippers at a church. They were to 'adopt' individual prisoners, to write to their governments asking for their release, to send food and comforts where the authorities would permit, to raise funds to feed and educate their families and to correspond with the prisoners, assuring them that someone cared.

And the impartiality which characterised the entire campaign was to extend to each of the groups. Each group was to adopt three prisoners, one from the 'Western' world, one from the Communist territories, and one from the newly-emerging countries. The publicity on which the campaign relied might depend upon the reaction to particular events and stories of many who would not extrapolate from the particular to the general. But the groups themselves must recognise the principle. A group based on a

Catholic church would be working for prisoners of all denominations, or of none.

If the group was the microcosm of the crusade, its outer limits expanded rapidly. Benenson and his friends already had international contacts. And some unsolicited offers of help came from overseas. As early as July 1961, supporters in Paris arranged a conference there on religious persecution. In December 1961 Amnesty held an international colloquy at Leiden on the Boundaries of Freedom. In September 1962 a second international gathering was held at Bruges. It was now clear that the brief campaign was destined for a longer life, and at Bruges the movement adopted the name 'Amnesty International'. Within a few months, the groups in overseas countries were arranging themselves in national sections, and in November 1963 an international Secretariat was established, in accommodation provided by the British section, but as a separate entity.

The purpose of the campaign was to influence governments by appealing to public opinion. And the largest question mark of all arose from the fear that the effect would be inversely proportional to the need. A democratic government, dependent upon free elections for its existence, sensitive to public opinion, might be persuaded to rectify an occasional transgression. But surely a tyrannical government, maintaining itself in power by repression, imprisoning its opponents as a matter of course, would scarcely be impressed by the indignation of foreigners. The converse proved to be true. A government might resent criticism from Amnesty. (Sometimes the reaction verged on paranoia.) Usually, they sought to argue the case, to deny the allegations, or point to the exigencies of a national emergency. Occasionally, they offered a promise to rectify matters in the near future, in exchange for a moratorium on publicity. But rarely were Amnesty's protests ignored.

In 1965 came the ultimate accolade. The initiative for human rights has lain with unofficial organisations, at least since 1787, when a group of intellectuals and philanthropists founded the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (later the Anti-Slavery Society, which still pursues a vigorous existence). Since then, governments have been pushed, somewhat reluctantly, into concessions to individual freedom which, left alone, they would have regarded as dangerous. This initiative was recognised in 1945, when Article 71 of the United Nations Charter authorised the Economic and Social Council to 'make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-government organisations which are concerned with matters within its competence'. The Council thereupon established a scheme for conferring on certain organisations 'consultative status', and wherever governments gather under U.N. auspices to discuss the international protection of human rights, there are to be found the 'N.G.O.s' in consultative status. Their representatives defer to government delegates in such matters as the order of speaking, but their expertise guarantees a hearing, publicly in the conference hall, and privately in the hotel lobby, and they form an unofficial diplomatic corps which co-ordinates work in this field. The Council of Europe has similar consultative arrangements.

As early as 1962, the international conference at Bruges was attended by representatives of the 'N.G.O.s', a recognition which in itself guaranteed an international hearing. In 1965 Amnesty International was admitted to consultative status both with Ecosoc and the Council of Europe. Amnesty's representatives occupied seats at the world's top tables.

The crusade was successful by virtually every criterion. And it paid the inevitable price. A spontantous outburst of indignation can quickly achieve the momentum of a crusade, and 'set a tide running'. But if the momentum is to be directed at specific targets, the modification of specific policies and the release of specific prisoners, there is required long, hard drudgery at the centre of administration and long, lonely evenings of clerical work among local groups. And these cannot be perpetually sustained by the elation of a crusade.

Peter Benenson and his friends were men of action. Each of them, confronted by a need, would act on the instant and consult with the others afterwards. It was inevitable that, on occasion, this would lead to an element of friction. But within a small group, such matters may be rectified. As the movement grew, an increasing number of participants felt that they should be consulted. This demanded Executive Committees, Constitutions, Annual General Meetings, and Standing Orders. These expressions do not form the vocabulary of a crusade. The heavier the formal framework becomes, the greater is the proportion of energy deflected from the principal purpose, and the more muted is the original clear voice of protest.

There were matters of principle on which views could diverge. In 1964 Nelson Mandela, who was adopted as a prisoner of conscience, declared at his trial that, having been precluded from expressing his views by non-violent means, he was constrained to commend a degree of force. Amnesty was confronted with a conflict of deeply held and highly emotive principles. From its inception, the movement had excluded from its definition of a prisoner of conscience anyone who used or advocated violence. There were members who argued that to relax this principle would be to change the whole nature of Amnesty. Whatever individual members might feel about violence in a particular situation, Amnesty was about the right to express non-violent opinions. Others argued, equally forcefully, that the movement existed to speak for the repressed. To abandon Mandela now would be to fail a victim of repression when he most needed support. Protagonists on each side declared that, unless their argument was recognised, they would feel unable to remain members. The problem has remained, though on this occasion it was resolved by a formula which declared that Mandela would no longer remain a prisoner of conscience, but that the movement might, on humanitarian grounds, make representations relating to the sentence or conditions of detention of any prisoner.

But in movements with a large membership combustible material is not confined to issues of principle. Amnesty members form a surprisingly various cross-section of the public, but they undoubtedly include many who were led to join by a passionate concern for democracy, and the right to speak out. And they are no more docile in the face of autocracy when it

appears within Amnesty itself. In the British Section, there were annual general meetings which will be remembered more for the intensity of the debate than for the consensus achieved.

A further abrasive factor was the financial one. Amnesty had grown so quickly that there had not been time to raise finances commensurate with the need. And the original crusaders had not been characters who would defer an urgent step until it could be included in a long-term budget. The International was continually pressing the national sections for more money. They, in turn, incessantly lectured their groups. And the group members frequently replied that they had not joined Amnesty to hold jumble sales, and that they required every penny which they could raise for their own adopted prisoners. Certainly, the needs of a particular prisoner were more readily identifiable in the mind of a group than the needs of the amorphous mass of undiscovered victims whose future would depend upon the resources of Amnesty's research projects.

Meanwhile, the British Section was discovering that respectability and access to the corridors of power are assets not always easy to reconcile with objectivity. Prisoners of conscience had rarely been found in Britain, and Amnesty had appeared as a predominantly British movement, directing criticism at foreign governments. This was a formula assured of a welcome from the domestic Establishment. But in British dependent territories there was material for Amnesty's attention. In July 1966, when Amnesty sought to investigate allegations that British interrogators in Aden had ill-treated detainees, the Foreign Office coldly replied that, since the detainees were held (without trial) because there was evidence of their implication in terrorist activities, it was inappropriate for Amnesty to send an observer. When, undeterred, an Amnesty observer from Sweden visited Aden, he was not permitted to visit the detainees. But in November, having failed to extract from the Government any concession, Amnesty published his report. Its principal burden was that the allegations, when made, had not been properly investigated by the authorities, and that the British Government had refused to permit a proper inspection by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Amnesty became 'irresponsible' in Britain almost overnight. Yet the resulting publicity led the Government to request Mr. Roderick Bowen, Q.C., a former Liberal Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, to investigate arrest, detention, and interrogation in Aden. In his Report, while declining to investigate specified allegations, he commented:

> I have come to the conclusion that there was a most regrettable failure to deal expeditiously and adequately with the allegations of cruelty which were made in respect of the Interrogation Centre.

This vindication of Amnesty's concern did nothing to restore the Movement to official favour. By this time the incipient disagreements within the Amnesty leadership had become public. It was clear that they could be resolved only by the separation of the irreconcilable elements. At the end of 1966 Peter Benenson, whose health had in any event suffered from the intensive work of the last few years, was persuaded that his most effective contribution to the future of Amnesty would be to resign.

The deterioration in Amnesty's fortunes seemed to be irreversible. Early in 1967, allegations appeared in the press that funds administered by Amnesty for relief work in Rhodesia had originated from Government sources in consequence of a bargain with the authorities and that they had been misused. The International Executive Committee ordered an investigation, and it transpired that certain individuals in the Government, sympathetic to Amnesty, had made suggestions in good faith as to where individual donations might be obtained. But the donations were certainly not from public funds, and the money had not been misused.

Early 1967 saw the nadir of Amnesty's fortunes. Its leadership appeared divided, financial disaster threatened, in Britain it was in the position of being simultaneously unpopular with the Foreign Office and accused of being in the pocket of the Government; and morale among some groups was low. The crusade of 1961 seemed spent. Yet the work continued by its own momentum, and the majority of groups continued through the long winter to meet in draughty halls, to raise funds, and to write their letters. Between June 1966 and June 1967, the number of groups increased from 410 to 550, and 293 of the prisoners adopted were released.

The new International Executive Committee, elected at the International Assembly in September 1966, was not in a position to look ahead until March 1967. In that month it prepared a plan for future expansion. Over the next few months Amnesty's staff lived under the perpetual threat that there would shortly be no further funds to pay them, but the British Section scraped together money from month to month to close the gap. By the end of 1967 the crisis was passed.

Since 1967, Amnesty has continued to expand. Each year prisoners who might otherwise have known no future save through narrow bars, have rejoined their families and resumed their work. Expansion abroad has been startling. Both the West German and the Swedish national sections have overtaken the British Section in the number of groups operating, and in their contributions to the budget. One consequence has been the pressure, renewed at each International Council, to campaign for causes which were once considered to be outside the purview of Amnesty. The Movement now campaigns against torture in any prison, whether inflicted upon political prisoners or those guilty of offences against a normal criminal code. And last year it declared itself against all capital punishment.

These extensions of Amnesty's concern have occasioned anxiety to the older generation of leaders. First, they point out that the wider resources are spread, the less there will be to campaign for the release of prisoners of conscience. Secondly, they insist that Amnesty's most valuable asset remains its reputation for objectivity, the public awareness that it does not involve itself with the political merits of its prisoners' causes, and that it does not take sides in the debates which lead to persecution of one side by the other. These are arguments which appeal to the British Section. Those in Britain who wish to campaign for other causes, whether or not they are members of Amnesty, can join a variety of movements directed to these purposes. Most other countries are less rich in non-governmental organisations.

Indeed, one area in which the Anglo-Saxon democracies can still teach the world is in the politics of the altruistic pressure group. In Bonn and Stockholm dissident youth has tended to join Amnesty as a positive method of protest against governments. And, deprived of a multiplicity of other movements, they have sought to make Amnesty the vehicle for all their causes. So far, the debate has been marked on both sides by the tolerance for which Amnesty itself exists, though the temptation to lobby newer delegations at each International Council is difficult to resist.

It would be comforting to reflect that Amnesty has learned from its experiences. But there are no obvious precautions against such crises. Vigorous leaders, when they disagree, are liable to disagree vigorously. Any lively assembly will produce more ideas for spending money and dissipating resources than methods for acquiring and conserving them. And a movement which exists to speak out against governments when occasion demands is likely to find that its relationship with any government follows an uneven course.

Amnesty has deliberately avoided ideologies and theories and concentrated on the concrete situations of men and women. But if its story admits of any general conclusion it is surely that men and women, experiencing revulsion at the conduct of tyrants and sympathy with their victims, are not condemned to impotence. By joining with others whose reactions are similar, they can make history. And a crusade probably has some therapeutic value for the participants. But it is no soft option. It may entail unexciting and unrecognised drudgery, frustration, and occasional tension with one's colleagues. Sometimes, the leaders of a crusade appear as distant and uncomprehending as the governments against whom the protest is directed. And to realise this is for them as heartbreaking as it is for their critics. But if fulfilment of the objectives is reward enough, crusaders in Amnesty are well rewarded.

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# THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SECRET OF JAPANESE INDUSTRIAL DYNAMISM

by Julian Makaroff

WESTERN industrialists have been watching with mounting fear Japan's stunning industrial upsurge and expansion. About to surpass the U.S.S.R. and thus become the world's second industrial power after the United States of America, Japan is forcing herself with ever-increasing vehemence on the world markets through a bewildering array of low-priced but high-quality industrial products. Thus the ever-growing pressure of Japanese competition is making European and U.S. industrialists increasingly apprehensive each year under the rising 'Trade Sun' of Japan.

Japan's message is clear and hard: 'We've beaten the hell out of the Western industrial nations on many markets. In the next five years, we'll blast 'em all to eternity!' With this savage war-cry the Japanese cover up their basic inferiority complex with regard to the white race, which stems essentially from their physical inferiority. Ichiro Kawasaki, a 61-year-old Japanese career diplomat—Japanese ambassador to Poland (1961-1967) and to Argentina (1967-1969)—wrote in his book *Japan Unmasked*: 'Of all the races of the world, the short, slit-eyed, buck-toothed and bow-legged Japanese with their flat expressionless faces are physically the least attractive, with the exception of Pigmies. Even Negroes, their skin pigmentation notwithstanding, are at least taller and better built and perhaps have a greater sex appeal than the Japanese.'

He only wrote the objective, universally known truth. Serious Japanese sexological treatises implicitly recognise that the sexual virility of the average Japanese male is inferior to that of the average white or Negro male. Nevertheless, the diplomat was dismissed by the Japanese government for this 'serious transgression' and his diplomatic career was ruined. This rankling, obsessive racial and sexual complex has never ceased to arouse in the Japanese a series of aggressive reactions in the shape of the compulsive drive to demonstrate to themselves and the rest of the world that they are, at least mentally, especially in the technical field, not necessarily inferior.

In their post-war industrial development, the stubborn nationalism of the Japanese, deeply wounded by their shattering defeat in World War II, has played a major role. While the Germans have shown remorse by ruefully admitting that World War II in Europe was unleashed by Hitler, the Japanese are adamantly unrepentant and refuse to accept Japan's guilt in World War II in East Asia. During his recent European trip, Emperor Hirohito found no words to express regret and made no direct apology for Japanese actions during World War II. I often heard said in Japan: 'Kateba kangun, makereba zokugun', or 'The victor is

always right, the vanquished always wrong (Might is right)'. In fact, the revisionist attitude toward Japan's participation in World War II has now become prevalent among the Japanese, For instance, one recent Japanese history textbook brazenly insisted: 'Japan was left no choice but to go to war with the U.S., Great Britain and The Netherlands'. And the Japanese government recently instituted what amounts to the revival of the pre-war and wartime militaristic public education. Films and TV programmes constantly remind the nation of the 'glorious past' of the Pacific War when the Japanese Imperial Army overran most of East Asia and no Japanese questioned the imperial destiny of his country. The revival of the worship of military heroes, of Emperor glorification, of war songs, of the sense of honour and happiness to die for the fatherland, and the appearance of books extolling these 'virtues' and Japan's militaristic past — all these are ominous signs foreboding the possible rebirth of Japanese militarism.

The recent hara-kiri suicide of the well-known Japanese right-wing novelist Yukio Mishima has touched the soul of Japan and brought about a revival of interest in samurai swords, and the Japanese press has started paying renewed attention to Japan's imperial history. Eisaku Sato, Japan's Prime Minister, himself told the Japanese Parliament that 'we should respect Mishima's motives'; and Yasuhiro Nakasoné, the former boss of the Japanese Defence Agency, declared that the novelist's death might prove to be a milestone in the evolution of Japanese spiritual thought. Meanwhile, the Japanese government is trying harder than ever to restore the Japanese army to a position of importance in Japan and seems bent on rearming. Japan's dramatic commercial success has also revived the traditional Japanese pride in nationality, and this resurgent pride is showing up, among others, in the National Railways' aggressive 'Discover Japan' campaign. There is a growing taste among the Japanese for nostalgic reminders of a time when life was more typically Japanese and people put stock in traditional Japanese values. Increasingly, foreigners who visit Japan are expected to know the language or suffer the consequences: new highway signs are exclusively in Japanese these days. All this is just what Mishima had intended.

No wonder that the Japanese take a peculiar, distinctly Japanese look at the Pacific War: 'Japan has always been a champion of Asia against the Western onslaught. This confrontation inevitably culminated in the Pacific War. Japan lost this war, but she has succeeded in breaking the grip of Western colonialism in Asia. Hence the post-war withdrawal of Britain, France and The Netherlands from Asia and also the decolonisation of Africa'. Japan continues the war by other means. For the Japanese, World War II has not yet ended, or rather, World War III began in 1945. A member of the Nixon Cabinet voiced the alarmist view held in some high U.S. government circles: 'The Japanese are still fighting the war; only now, instead of a shooting war, it is an economic war. Their immediate intention is to try to dominate the Pacific and then perhaps the world'. One top U.S. business executive howled: 'Something

has to be done to prevent the Japs from eating us alive'. Australia's *Financial Review* screamed in a front-page banner headline: 'Jap businessmen are winning the war their generals lost!' In Europe, many Germans are anxious about what they call the 'yellow peril' to their foreign sales, as evidenced by what has happened to the German camera maker Zeiss-Ikon-Voigtländer and to Volkswagen. In Asia, a top Philippine official stated flatly: 'The Japanese are getting through commerce what they failed to achieve through the war'.

In fact Japan's extremely aggressive trade tactics have so antagonised the East Asian nations that the foreign minister of a certain country who refused to be identified went so far as to predict: 'In a few years' time, we will realise that Japan is our No. 1 enemy in this part of the world'. For the Japanese, life is an eternal war from the cradle to the grave. Thus every Japanese industrial concern is a fanatical combat group whose objective is to fight it out to the best of its abilities on the world markets. Some Japanese companies even distribute copies of the old handbook of the former Japanese Imperial Army to their department heads. Japan's post-war expansive force has found outlets in trade war by way of substitution. Every segment of Japan's political and industrial life has been enlisted in the global export offensive. The Prime Minister personally heads the Supreme Trade Council made up of top business and government leaders who carve up the world into convenient combat zones. Commercial thrusts are mounted with all the concentrated fury of military campaigns. Thus Japan's export drive has been taking on the overtone of a relentless conspiracy to invade and dominate every vital international market. This rampant export expansion, which has replaced Japanese militarism after its defeat in 1945, has been assuming the ominous character of economic and industrial imperialism. No wonder that President Nixon had to react vigorously to counter this Japanese economic aggression.

Among major psychological factors underlying Japan's industrial upsurge is her crushing population pressure. The extremely mountainous insular land is seriously overpopulated. It is only 50 per cent larger than the United Kingdom (369,813 $km^2$ versus 244,784 $km^2$) but twice as densely populated. Worse still, 83 per cent of the land area is composed of uncultivatable and uninhabitable earthquake-ridden volcanic mountains totally devoid of any natural recources. Moreover, 40 million Japanese (40 per cent of the country's total population) live jampacked sardine-like along the narrow 320-mile Pacific coastline between Tokyo and Osaka. This has made the Japanese tense, nervous, restless and impatient. To have a better idea of Japan's overpopulation pressure, one should imagine tiny Switzerland with 30 million (instead of 6 million) inhabitants. The deadly struggle for existence in this crazily cramped living space leaves the Japanese no other alternative than concentrated and frantic exertions for survival. Thus the Japanese are obsessed slaves to work. For, despite the 'successful' birth control campaign, Japan's population (already almost 104 millions) is still increasing at a rate of one

million a year. Her population control has come 100 years too late: a century ago, Japan had only 25 million inhabitants (the very maximum for Japan). The sharp population growth in the past 100 years led Japan to launch four wars of agression: against China (1894-1895), against Czarist Russia (1904-1905), against China again (1931-1932 and 1937-45) and finally against the U.S., Great Britain and The Netherlands (1941-1945). With these four wars of aggression, however, Japan gained geopolitically nothing: her territory today is right back to what it was a century ago, while her population has more than quadrupled! This leaves the Japanese no alternative but to make frantic efforts for survival, more or less the same way as a cornered rat hits back at a cat, or in the manner of a swarm of tadpoles in a bucket of water evaporating under the scorching sun. Thus Japan, the world's third largest economic power, ranks only 20th with her *per capita* GNP.

The Japanese do not understand individualism. If Japan allegedly has become after the war a kind of democracy politically, it has remained a feudal and totalitarian state socially. The Japanese are the world's most incorrigible collectivists: their collectivist mentality even surpasses that of the most die-hard communists! The notion of the rights of the individual is basically alien to the Japanese tradition. In Japanese society, there is absolutely no room for any individualist. In Japan, the individual's personal ideas, happiness and interests are mercilessly sacrificed for the general and approximate well-being of the collectivity. The Japanese apparently cannot afford the luxury of minding their own business, for in a country so terribly overpopulated and congested as Japan, the interests of every one are so closely interwoven that every individual is constantly subject to prying eyes and ears all around him.

In other words, Japan is a gigantic slave labour camp where every Japanese is ceaselessly spied on, not vertically by the police or the authorities, but horizontally by his social fellow citizens. The slightest deviation from the rigid local conformism brings forth harsh punishment from society. Every Japanese knows the proverb: 'Deru kugi wa utareru (The nail that sticks up will be ruthlessly hammered down)'. Thus, privacy and personal individual freedom are practically impossible to achieve in Japan. The entire Japanese nation suffers from claustrophobia without realising it. This horrible social regimentation has forced the Japanese after the war to make incredible collective efforts and sacrifices for accelerating Japan's industrial and economic expansion, not for any individual's personal happiness or well-being but exclusively for national prestige.

Thus, not much of Japan's wealth has filtered down to the masses. Her phenomenal industrial growth has been achieved by almost totally sacrificing badly needed social improvements, while huge fractions of her GNP have been again and again chanelled back into corporate investments. The country's industrial pollution is the world's worst, and every 5th inhabitant of Tokyo suffers from chronic bronchitis. The average Japanese family lives in a space almost stiflingly small for Westerners, and the protein and caloric content of Japanese food is very

low and hardly superior to the intake of under-developed nations such as India. Most Japanese homes, flimsy as a dog kennel, are unheated so that winter seems much colder in Japan than in Europe or the U.S. Only 9 per cent of Japanese homes are equipped with flush toilets: the rest have a kind of interior latrine where human excrement is left to accumulate in a big earthen bowl dug into the ground under the floor, until peasants come and empty it manually from time to time, spreading an unbearable stench all around! This is just one of those aspects of life in Japan that are never described in tourist agency propaganda literature or the Japan Air Lines' advertisements. (Until the end of the Pacific War, this menial work used to be one of the occupations of Koreans living in Japan, scorned, despised and kicked around as second-class citizens by the Japanese. The lot of these Koreans was even worse than that of Negroes in the U.S. despite physical similarities between Japanese and Koreans).

The social security system for the aged and sick is almost non-existent. One of the shocking scenes that greet Western visitors in Tokyo is that of old men and women beyond retirement age employed as scavengers. The average Japanese hears constantly about his country's growing affluence, but he wonders where the hell it is, as he glances around his tiny sub-standard living quarters; sweats for hours daily in jampacked subways and commuter trains (300-400 per cent of capacity!) and bounces over pot-holed roads (less than a third of Japan's roads are paved) and peers with smarting eyes through the ubiquitous smog which makes it impossible even for the famed cherry trees to bloom. In the name of their country's proud industrial expansion, the Japanese population has patiently put up with these terrible living conditions that have, however, together with the job stress, increasingly become pathogenic agents. In the offices and factories, the number of those suffering from mental disorder is on the steady rise: one-third of all Japanese employees suffer from neurosis. Preoccupied with corporate profits and investments, the Japanese government has totally neglected to humanise Japanese society and economy. Thus the Japanese have remained slaves who do not realise their slavery.

Finally, the warlike samurai's fighting spirit has played an important role in Japan's industrial expansion. The two most popular sayings in Japan during World War II, often enthusiastically quoted by the fist-shaking and teeth-gnashing military, were: 'Danko to shité okonaeba, kishin mo koré o saku!' (Do everything with absolute fanaticism, and Satan Himself will step aside to avoid you!) and 'Issun no mushi nimo, gobu no tamashii' (Even an inch-long worm possesses at least a half-inch fighting spirit). The Japanese military used to claim that Hitler and his SS cohorts were not aggressive enough and boast that the Japanese were far more fanatical than the Nazis. In this connection it is well to recall that the Japanese were the most loyal allies of the Nazis during World War II. (It is important to recall this, because I recently met a young Frenchman who did not know Japan had been Nazi Germany's ally.) Even after Hitler's death and Germany's surrender, Japan kept on fighting for three more months. Without the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and

Nagasaki, Japan would have continued the war. Göbbels should have asked the Japanese rather than the Germans: 'I ask you, do you want the total and radical war?' And had World War II ended differently, World War III would have broken out long ago—a gruesome total war between Nazi Germany and fanatical Samurai-Japan for world domination. This ferocious fighting spirit of the samurai has been, since the war, simply switched to industry and technology and found outlets in the implacable and indomitable will to dominate the world industrially and technologically. Japan has set herself the ambitious goal to surpass the U.S. by the year 2000 or earlier, and the entire Japanese nation is mobilised to achieve this single objective.

While Japan, with her ever-growing formidable technological might, is already an industrial colossus whose ever-lengthening shadow is sending chills down the spine of European and U.S. industrialists, it is a truly frightening and nightmarish prospect to visualise China, with her gigantic population (800 million) which is increasing at a staggering rate of 15 million a year, one day reaching Japan's industrialisation level. The currently complementary nature of the economy of the two yellow giants raises the dreaded spectre of a Sino-Japanese condominium. As far back as 1900, a Russian philosopher-historian, Vladimir Soloviev, published a futurological account of the conquest of Russia by a joint Sino-Japanese superstate which, by his reckoning, would have, by the end of this century, combined the demographic mass of China with the industrial know-how of Japan. He was a century ahead of his time in his prophetic vision! The possibility is that the 21st century will become a 'Yellow Century,' unless massive preventive measures are taken. The economic and political integration of Europe could be one of these measures.

The July issue of the *Contemporary Review* includes *Concorde* by Robin Maxwell-Hyslop, M.P., *The Last Days of Shelley* by Margaret Crompton, *Tutankhamun and the Bible Records* by the Rev. E. L. B. Rogers and Part II of *The Northern Ireland Problem* by Sir Frederic Bennett, M.P. (held over from the June issue).

# MARY BAKER EDDY: A SESQUICENTENNIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

## by Mason Olds

TODAY, most moderns view the real world as the world of sense experience. In this world there is flesh which we enjoy both seeing and touching. In this world there is also war, poverty, sickness, suffering and death. Because the world of the five senses has such a strong hold on us, many are driven to doubt the existence of a Supreme Being and the possibilities of immortality. Many feel that they have been cast into a world they did not create, and so they must make the best of a bad situation.

Yet in this crazy mixed-up world which we both love and hate there is a small religious group which claims to hear the sound of a different drummer. In fact this drummer is a female, who made music on her drum before it was popular for women to play more than a piano or flute. This woman is Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of that little known American religious denomination which goes under the heading of Christian Science.

The writings of Mrs. Eddy inform us that we are greatly mistaken when we think that we experience the empirical world, for the natural world of matter, sickness, suffering and death are not real but an illusion. They are the results of erroneous thinking. If we straightened out our crooked thinking we would discover much to our surprise that men neither get sick nor die. Although it might seem strange to the average modern, there are those who view the world through Mrs. Eddy's nineteenth century rose coloured spectacles and claim that if one would only make the effort, one could discover the Truth also.

Like her movement Mrs. Eddy, as a woman, is a controversial figure. Some of her non-critical followers view her as one notch above the Virgin Mary, whereas her more severe critics claim that she was a charlatan. Perhaps the truth lies somewhere between these extremes.

The general facts of Mrs. Eddy's life are readily available. She was born on July 16, 1821, on a farm near Bow, not far from Concord, New Hampshire. Being both the youngest of six children and delicate from an early age, she received special attention from her parents and siblings alike. Often her education was interrupted because of her various illnesses, and her older brother, Albert, with whom she was very close, tutored her when he was home on vacation from college. Albert, however, died in 1841 when a brilliant young lawyer running for Congress. Of course, this affected her deeply. Also, Mrs. Eddy recalled that at the age of eight she thought that she heard a voice call to her as it had to Samuel in the Bible, but when her mother suggested that she respond with Samuel's reply: 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth'; she never heard the voice again. Moreover, she argued theology with her father who was a strict Calvinist, rebelling especially against the doctrines of predestination, hell and election. At the age of fifteen her family moved to Tilton, where she met the

Reverend Enoch Corser, the Congregational minister, who apparently encouraged her intellectual interest in religious questions and who later performed the marriage ceremony for her and her first husband.

In 1843, at the age of twenty-two, Mrs. Eddy married George Washington Glover who was a contractor and builder from Charleston, South Carolina. Glover was also a slave holder and once his new wife was exposed to the institution she pleaded with him to free his slaves, but to no avail. Only seven months after their marriage, while they were on a trip to Wilmington, North Carolina, Glover contracted yellow fever and tragically died. His young wife returned to New Hampshire, giving birth to George Jr. three months later. Being in poor health, the young widow was forced to place her son in a foster home, while she lived with her sister Abigail, whose health also was not very good. For various reasons Mrs. Eddy was never able to take her son back.

Ten years after her first marriage, Mrs. Eddy married Daniel Patterson, a dentist, who apparently was more successful with the ladies than with his profession. In time Patterson went to Washington to enlist in the Union army but was captured watching the battle of Bull Run. However, through the efforts of his wife, the governor of New Hampshire intervened and Patterson was released from prison. Upon his return Patterson established a dental practice in Lynn, Massachusetts, but shortly eloped with the wife of a wealthy patient. When the elopers returned, Mrs. Eddy persuaded the offended husband to take his wife back, but she divorced her husband in 1873.

However, it was a hand bill that Patterson had given his wife before leaving for Washington to enlist in the army that proved most decisive. The advertisement told of a Dr. Phineas P. Quimby of Portland, Maine, who had great success in healing without the use of surgery or drugs. With great hopes for a cure from Quimby, Mrs. Eddy went to him in October of 1862, and after several treatments her health was greatly improved. She also discussed with Quimby, at some length, his theory of healing and in time she both lectured and wrote about his theories. Mrs. Eddy's relationship to Quimby is most controversial, with her critics maintaining that she plagiarised Quimby's theories, whereas her supporters argue there are fundamental differences between the two methods.

Nevertheless, on February 1, 1866, Mrs. Eddy fell on an icy street in Lynn, hurting herself 'severely'. Many of her friends had doubts about her recovery. However, she read the story in the Bible of Jesus' healing of the man with palsy and as a result had a great 'spiritual awakening'. She heard a voice say: 'Daughter arise!' and got out of bed, dressed herself, and went downstairs, much to everyone's amazement. It was from this healing experience that Christian Scientists date the beginning of their movement and sometimes refer to it as 'the Great Revelation'.

From 1866-1875 Mrs. Eddy lived in various towns of eastern Massachusetts, where she lectured on the new science of healing and even did some cures herself. In 1870 she conducted classes in mental science while her colleague, Richard Kennedy, was a practitioner. In 1875 she

published the first edition of *Science and Health* which she revised numerous times before her death. This work is viewed as being divinely inspired by her followers and the views expressed in it are seen as a recovery of the authentic Christian gospel. Hence, in the Christian Science worship service, the first reader reads selections from this book while the second reader reads from the Bible. Since *Science and Health* is alleged to contain the revealed interpretation of the Christian gospel, Christian Scientists feel no need for preaching. Their church services consist only of readings from the Bible and *Science and Health*. Each Sunday throughout the world the same selections are read in each church so there is uniformity throughout the denomination.

When Mrs. Eddy first wrote *Science and Health* it was sold from door to door without great success, but in 1877 she married one of her followers, Asa G. Eddy, a capable businessman. Through his knowledge of marketing techniques the book began to sell. It was also during this period that Mrs. Eddy held public meetings in Lynn, Roxbury and Boston. In 1879 steps were taken to organise the First Church, Christ Scientist, in Boston, and in 1881 Mrs. Eddy became the pastor. In 1895 the first structure of the Mother Church was dedicated, and in 1906 the church was completely renovated and enlarged at the cost of $2,000,000, which was subscribed before the work was begun, becoming one of the landmarks of Boston. In 1881 she founded the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, where she taught until she closed it in 1889 at the 'height of its success'. She contends that she taught over four thousand students during this period and closed the school to devote her time to revising *Science and Health*. After the closing of the institution the Board of Education of the denomination took over the functions of the college. Through the years Mrs. Eddy founded a number of publications such as *The Christian Science Journal* (1883), *The Christian Science Sentinel* (1898), and the well-known daily, *The Christian Science Monitor* (1908).

Mary Baker Eddy, the woman who dared to deny the reality of death, died on December 3, 1910, at the age of 89. Her critics point out that although she attributed the validity of sense experience to the error of mortal mind, she wore eye-glasses and false teeth and that she was attended by physicians and took drugs to relieve the suffering brought on by kidney stones while her close associates attempted to ward off the effects of 'animal magnetism' (the power of evil thought) which she believed was causing her to suffer. Moreover, they point out that since the age of forty-five Mrs. Eddy had amassed a personal fortune of over two million dollars.

Mrs. Eddy grew up in a time in which the tides of Protestant liberalism were beginning to rise in the eastern part of the United States. Within the Congregational church of her youth there was the debate between the unitarians and trinitarians, as well as between the revivalists and anti-revivalists. It was only four years after her birth that the American Unitarian Association, a liberal denomination, was founded in Boston. Hence, her denial of such Calvinistic doctrines as hell and double pre-

destination were in line with many of those of the middle and upper middle classes of eastern Massachusetts.

The emphasis on mind and rationality and the playing down of the emotions was in part one of the sides taken by the anti-revivalists against the advocates of revival. Even her philosophy of absolute idealism was in the background of both Continental and American liberalism. In fact, idealism in the west has a distinguished tradition reaching back to Plato, coming into Christianity as it branched out into the Greco-Roman world in the fourth and fifth centuries, and dominating Christian thought until St. Thomas introduced Aristotle into western thought in the thirteenth century. In the nineteenth century Hegelian idealism had a great influence on both Continental and American philosophy and theology. With the doctrine of creation, Christians have generally emphasised the primacy of the spiritual over the material as the former existed before the latter. Furthermore, with the advent of Darwin's theory of evolution later in the century many liberals repudiated the traditional doctrine of original sin, maintaining instead that man was evolving from his animal past and that the evil existing in the world was the result of the residual animality which ultimately will be overcome.

To point out that many of the ideas held by Mrs. Eddy were in line with much of the thinking of eastern Massachusetts at her time is not to maintain that she was merely reflecting her culture, for there is no doubt that she put her own unique stamp on the doctrines. To deny completely the existence of matter was going much further than those liberals who spoke of a dualism. Obviously, Mrs. Eddy was convinced that she was divinely inspired, that she was presenting the authentic interpretation of Christianity which Jesus himself had taught but which had been distorted through the centuries and that the key doctrine which had been neglected was that of healing. Healing does mean the healing of sickness but it means much more. It also refers to the solving of interpersonal problems that exist between people. It has a personal aspect, but more recent Christian Scientists have become aware of its social dimension. In this concern they claim to find support in the thought of Mrs. Eddy.

Mrs. Eddy called her faith 'Christian Science'. Generally the word science is used to refer to the natural or material world. It is a method that is used to determine the truth or falsity of statements about this world of the senses. In contrast to this commonsense understanding, Christian Science teaches that the material world is an illusion; it only appears to be real because of erroneous thinking. Christian Scientists then try to teach men to think correctly. For them, the real is the spiritual, and there are certain laws that govern it. Christian Scientists believe that these laws or principles were revealed to Mrs. Eddy and that they have been passed on to them through her writings, through Christian Science practitioners and teachers. They maintain that they have received results from following Christian Science, and that anyone who follows it, will receive similar benefits. So we see that in the term Christian *Science* Mrs. Eddy took a word with great prestige and applied it to her teachings, thus appealing to

a latent pragmatism that lies deep in every American if not in every occidental.

In referring to God Mrs. Eddy says: 'God is incorporeal, divine, supreme, infinite Mind, Spirit, Soul, Principle, Life, Truth, Love'.[1] To maintain that He is infinite is to say that He always has been and always will be, for He is without beginning and end. Later, she speaks of man and his relationship to God in the following way: 'God is the Principle of man, and man is the idea of God'.[2] Man and God go together, for man is 'created' in God's image. He mirrors or reflects God; he is a 'tributary to God'. In this sense man always has and always will be, and hence it is impossible to speak literally of creation, as this would imply a time when God's image was not reflected. It would seem that since God does not come into being and cease to be, man does not come into being and cease to be. The divine image (man) then is co-eternal with the infinite Mind.

With respect to the thorny problem of theodicy, Mrs. Eddy deals with it in a most unusual way. Since God is both infinite and good, He can only create what is good, and as God makes all that is made, he must make it good; therefore, there can be no evil. As man is created in the divine image, he reflects the divine goodness. If man were evil or a sinner, then the origin for evil would have to be in something other than God, which in turn would imply a denial of either God's infinitude or His goodness. Thus, to solve the problem of God as being both infinite and good with the presence of evil, Mrs. Eddy denied the presence of evil, for she maintains '. . . evil is but an illusion, and it has no real basis. Evil is false belief'.[3] She then goes on to say 'In reality man never dies . . . Death is not the result of Truth but of error . . .'.[4]

The problem then is to teach men how to look at life from the metaphysical position of Mrs. Eddy's idealism. If they will but learn to view life from her perspective, they will discover that the path of the Christian Scientist is the path of Truth.

The question then arises: what kind of people are Christian Scientists? Although the directors are very parsimonious in realising figures and profiles, some sociological studies have been made. Professor R. W. England studied the testimonies of some five hundred Christian Scientists as contained in the *Christian Science Journal* and concluded: (1) The largest single group of converts to Christian Science are 'urban, middle-class, married females who are suffering from bodily disorders of physical or emotional origin'. (2) Over 50 per cent of those coming to Christian Science 'are motivated by specific troubles, with problems of health predominating'. (3) Affiliating with Christian Science because of specific difficulties is 'more characteristic of women than men'. (4) The greatest benefit offered by the religion is the 'alleged' power of the religion to cure bodily disorders. (5) The role of the Christian Science practitioner is similar to that of a psychologist or psychiatrist to his patient, with good rapport between practitioner and sufferer being essential for results.[5]

Christian Science has a proportionately much larger female following than male. It has been estimated that for every 100 female members there

are only 31.3 males. Furthermore, in 1953, approximately 77 per cent of all full-time practitioners were married women; another 11 per cent were single women, giving a total of 88 per cent.[6] Also, unlike the beginnings of many sects. Christian Science originally appealed to the middle class with a few coming from the upper middle class. Being a religion which places great stress on reading and denying the existence of the physical world, which only one whose basic physical needs have been securely satisfied has the luxury to deny, the middle class appeal is understandable. This of course implies that in the United States few blacks are drawn to the religion.

If the present status of Christian Science can be judged by the establishment of churches and societies the situation is somewhat as follows: there are now 2,405 churches and societies in the United States and 838 in other parts of the world. In fact, there are now churches and societies throughout the United States. Although England has the second largest number it is believed that the membership there has reached a standstill, if not a decline. In the United States during the early part of the present century Christian Science growth was almost phenomenal but more recently the rate of growth has dropped considerably. For instance, in 1906, there were about 635 churches in the United States and in 1926 there were 1,913, a growth rate of over 200 per cent. However, in 1953 there were 2,284 churches and societies and when this number is compared with the present number of 2,405, the growth rate is less than 8 per cent in the past 18 years.

As Bryan Wilson has pointed out, the evidence seems to be that Christian Science has reached its high tide. There are probably a number of good reasons for this levelling off. First, the movement did not revolutionise the practice of medicine as many of the pioneers, including Mrs. Eddy, thought it would. In fact, medicine has increased in the popular esteem and people are living longer today than in any other period of man's history. This longevity is generally attributed to the efforts of modern medicine. Second, Mrs. Eddy cast her organisation and thought in her own nineteenth century mould and then claimed that it was divinely inspired, which has put her denomination in a straitjacket which makes it difficult for it to adjust to the rapidly changing world of the last quarter of the twentieth century. Thirdly, in the nineteenth century, Christian Science provided many women with a creative outlet, but today women seem to have found more creative outlets so that there is little, if any, connection between Christian Science and such movements as women's liberation. Finally, Christian Science has ceased to be a novelty.[7]

Christian Scientists believe that they have been grossly misunderstood, and they are willing to assume some responsibility for this problem. Believing that this has been their greatest failure, they are now making efforts to rectify it. As to its greatest success, Christian Science believes that it has brought health, healing and happiness to thousands of people who were suffering. It is here that it feels that it has made a lasting contribution.

As to Mary Baker Eddy, one may or may not accept her claims to divine inspiration, and yet one can still believe that here was a woman with a charismatic personality, who obviously was an effective speaker and who had a genius for administration. She left a religious movement, at least a monument to herself, that has outlasted her death by sixty years, but all indications are that although the movement is firmly established, the next sixty years will be more difficult than the past.

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*Note*: Christian Science practitioners and teachers are listed in the *Christian Science* Journal. They must be members of 'The Mother Church' (Boston) and are amenable to its By-Laws. This does not mean that they will not have membership also in a local church. They have to satisfy the Board of Directors that they are qualified to be practitioners. This usually means that they have taken primary class instruction from a qualified teacher. The class instruction lasts for two weeks and covers the material in *Science and Health* entitled 'Recapitulation'. There is no educational requirement other than this, and the teacher is paid a fee, which in the early 1960s was $100.00. When the course is successfully completed, the student is allowed to attach the letters C.S. (Christian Science) after his name, and for a small fee he is listed in the *Journal*. After three years of successful service he may apply to take the normal course which is taught under the auspices of the Christian Science Board of Education. The normal course is taught in three year intervals and the number of students is limited. A few years ago the cost was a hundred dollars. When it is successfully completed the student may attach the letters C.S.B. (Bachelor of Christian Science) to his name. A person who has completed the normal course is now certified as a teacher, which means he may give one class of instruction in a calendar year with no more than thirty students. A practitioner may charge a fee comparable to that of a medical doctor.—M.O.

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# THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT AS A BAROMETER OF ENGLISH TASTE

## by Eric Glasgow

THE erosive effects of television upon our English literary taste are surely too obvious to need much emphasis here: today, plenty of new books are published, many of them excellent ones, but their appeal is often very clearly geared to a public which is more concerned with visual than with intellectual matters or images. Of course, those current trends need not have calamitous results, even for literature, and certainly there is no need to adopt too gloomy or resistant a stance in relation to the present or the future of English literature. It may be reassuring, also, to observe that the lament of 'the decline of culture', assessed in terms of quality literature, is not new: one may find it, for instance, expressed quite dramatically in *The Recovery of the West,* by Michael Roberts (Faber and Faber, London, 1941). On page 43 of that illuminating work, the author mentions the decline in the number and influence of the English literary periodicals up to 1939 as evidence of commercialism and the bad cultural impacts of political democracy.

It is not a new notion; but it is one which may well seem to be just as relevant and useful now as then. To support his thesis of literary decline, he quotes *The Times Literary Supplement,* claiming that 'it had fewer readers in 1938 than in 1922'. No doubt, Michael Roberts is right in taking the T.L.S. as the best guide to the course of English literature through the years; but I have discovered, from statistics most generously afforded to me by the publishing director of Times Newspapers Limited, that his verdict in *The Recovery of the West* needs some modification.

The T.L.S. was distributed free with *The Times* until 1914. Thereafter, it took a few years 'to get off the ground', as its publishers suggest; but in 1918, its circulation was 29,106 copies (average per issue) and its price 2d. By 1928, this had risen only slightly—to 29,549 copies, price 3d. each—but it fell to 22,469 in 1938. So Michael Roberts is right in noticing the decline in circulation, which during the thirties slipped slowly but steadily. On the other hand, it is also noteworthy that the *average* circulation of the T.L.S. during the thirties was about 24,000 copies per issue, which was only slightly lower than the 25,000 copies which was the average circulation for the decade of the twenties. That was because the circulation of the T.L.S. fell very heavily in the years just after the First World War: — it was only 21,205 in 1922. So Michael Roberts evidently mistook his first basis of comparison (it would have been better to have taken the year 1918), since in 1938 the figure was slightly *higher* than in 1922. Nevertheless, the general trend towards a diminished literary taste, which Michael Roberts observed, up to 1939 cannot be denied.

By the criterion of the T.L.S., English literary taste and interest has expanded and improved since 1945. Unlike the post-war period of 1918-

1922, that of 1945-1950 saw a huge increase in the circulation of the journal, which reached 42,116 copies in 1948, 47,000 in 1949 and 49,000 in 1950. This phenomenal increase has been explained to me by Derek Jewell, the publishing director of *The Times,* as a temporary and mushroom-like growth caused by newsprint rationing. 'By this I mean that general books and arts coverage in national quality newspapers and other media was so scarce that there was a much higher demand for specialist papers which dealt only with books.'

Nevertheless, although the peaks of 1948-50 could not be maintained, the T.L.S. fared better during the forties and fifties, at least in its circulation-figures, than it had done before 1939. The interest in serious literary criticism flourished and expanded, despite materialism and commercialism. During those two decades the circulation was generally between 35,000 and 45,000, with an average of about 40,000: good, by any standards. Thus, in 1958, the T.L.S. sold an average of 39,225 copies per week: in 1968, the comparable figure was 44,134, and its price 1s. 6d. per copy. Since then, there has been a slight decline; but the annual circulation has been fairly stable at about 40,000 copies per week.

It follows, therefore, that the T.L.S., as a barometer of English literary taste and discernment does not suggest any decline or lack of promise for the future as far as England is concerned. Even the mass-culture of our times has not destroyed its influence, its standing, or its circulation. The changes of war and social upheaval have on the whole enlarged rather than contracted the English appreciation of the values of literature and the printed word, at least if we take as our basis of assessment the circulation of the T.L.S., which in 1971 had nearly double the number of readers it had had in 1938. Of course, the mere facts of circulation do not necessarily reflect the varying quality of the books received and reviewed. Nevertheless, it is possible to accept them as a fairly reliable guide to the general English enthusiasm for good literature during all the vicissitudes of the twentieth century.

# THE TESTAMENT OF ANDREW MARVELL

## by G. Wilson Knight

I USED to think that it was dangerous to use the words 'soul' or 'spirit' in poetry, as it was the business of poetry to make one feel their presence within concrete form. I still think it risky; but I realise that it may be necessary. Knowledge of modern Spiritualism has helped me to understand the realities behind these words. Our best poets have known when, and how, to use them; and how to make us feel them when they are not stated. Andrew Marvell is such a poet.

In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* Blake saw the 'body' as that portion, or aspect, of the 'soul' apprehended by the senses of man in the modern world. His statement helps us to see that, even if there were no final distinction, it would still be fatal to think that by studying or talking of what we today mean by 'body', we shall have included all that is meant by 'soul' or 'spirit'. Rather the other way round. Most poets avoid actual discussion of the terms, but for Marvell the discussion is central.

Morality is involved. In his *Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure* Marvell distinguishes between the allurements of sensuous pleasures and the soul's resistance:

> A Soul that knows not to presume
> Is Heaven's and its own perfume.

Realities beyond must be considered:

> If things of Sight such Heavens be,
> What Heavens are those we cannot see?

In *On a Drop of Dew* he compares the Soul to a 'round' dewdrop, whose 'little globe's extent' both frames its 'native element' and expresses its eternal sky-born origin. The Soul of man likewise remembers its 'former height' while 'its pure and circling thoughts' express 'the greater Heaven in a Heaven less'. In *Mourning* a similar comparison associates 'precious tears' with pearls, though here their sincerity is in question. In poetry such imagery of riches is a normal correlative to spiritual worth. Marvell has much of it.

In his long poem *Upon Appleton House,* on the home of Lord Fairfax to whose daughter Marvell was for a while tutor, he remembers the stones of the ruined nunnery near by which gave birth to the new, secular, abode (XI). In it were 'Virgin Amazons' battling in 'shining armour white'. They were happy, 'each one a spouse and each a queen' (XIV, XV). Their very purity was a kind of consummation:

> Where you may lie as chaste in bed
> As pearls together billeted.
> All night embracing arm in arm,
> Like crystal pure with cotton warm.
>
> (XXIV)

A similar honour is accorded Fairfax's daughter Maria, called 'crystal pure' and said to be purer and more beautiful than the surrounding nature (LXXXVII).

Nature is a major concern for Marvell, and his handling has subtle variations. *The Mower against Gardens* is an attack, like Perdita's in *The Winter's Tale,* on 'forbidden mixtures' whereby nature is being rendered unnatural; while the 'fountain' and the 'grot' take precedence over 'fields'. In *Upon Appleton House* the house's 'sober frame' (I) is contrasted with grandiose achitectures and praised for its simplicity:

> But all things are composed here
> Like Nature . . .
>
> (IV)

'The Master great' himself both enlarges and spiritualises it:

> . . . Where he comes the swelling Hall
> Stirs, and the square grows spherical.
>
> (VII)

Around is nature, free from artificial interference, in gardens, woods and rivers (X).

Marvell is always trying to harmonise nature with man, the senses with holiness. There are difficulties. In *The Coronet* he wills to replace the Saviour's thorns with garlands of flowers such as 'once adorned my Shepherdess's head'. Surely these love-flowers are more fit than thorns for 'the King of Glory'. But among them he finds the Serpent lurking in disguise:

> Ah, foolish Man, that would'st debase with them,
> And mortal glory, Heaven's diadem!

He realises that thorns were right for the Saviour's head, the flower-garland a crown to be despised and trampled underfoot.

On a choice occasion the opposites coalesce. In *The Mower to the Glo-Worms* these creatures are as 'living lamps', a phrase blending human artifice, fire, and nature. Still better are those other lamps in *Bermudas,* where the pilgrims enjoy a miraculous nature in direct relation to spiritual purity. It is like a paradise of 'eternal spring', where God provides:

> He hangs in shades the orange bright,
> Like golden lamps in a green night.
> And does in the pomegranates close
> Jewels more rich than Ormus shows.
> He makes the figs our mouths to meet;
> And throws the melons at our feet.
> But apples plants of such a price
> No tree could ever bear them twice.
> With cedars, chosen by his hand
> From Lebanon, he stores the land.
> And makes the hollow seas that roar
> Proclaim the ambergris on shoar.
> He cast (of which we rather boast)
> The Gospel's pearl upon our coast.
> And in these rocks for us did frame
> A temple where to sound his name.

Such a poetic coalescence of Elysian nature and contemporary religion is rendered possible by a unique occasion. Notice Marvell's clustering association of riches with the spiritual: 'golden', 'jewels', 'price', 'ambergris', all building up to the Gospel's 'pearl'.

In *Upon Appleton House* it is this will to find spirit in 'nature's mystic

book' (LXXIII) that makes him feel a great wood as 'one great trunk' creating 'a fifth element' (LXIII); or a mist as 'saphir-winged' (LXXXV). He feels himself all but floating in the air, like the birds (LXXI). The powers of nature may enrich man, just as Maria, Fairfax's daughter, spiritualises nature:

> *But by her flames, in Heaven try'd,*
> *Nature is wholly vitrifi'd.*
>
> (LXXXVI)

That is, converted into a glassy, crystalline, quality. Maria herself is, as we have already noted, called 'crystal-pure' (LXXXVII).

The fusion of man and nature has its dangers. In *The Coronet* the Serpent was found among the flowers; in *Upon Appleton House* trees may likewise have a 'traitor-worm' corresponding to man's sinful 'flesh' (LXX); and Maria must be kept clear from any association with pagan myths of 'wanton love' (LXXXXV).

Marvell knew the allurements of sexual passion. In *To his Coy Mistress* his imagery is fascinatingly deployed. Were all time and space theirs, love could perhaps dispense with physical fruition. His mistress could find 'rubies' by the Ganges, building up her own spirit-worth, while he loves her through the ages from before the Flood till 'the conversion of the Jews'; through an infinitude of space and time, his 'vegetable' (i.e. animated) 'love' would slowly outspace 'empires', filling as it were the universe. His adoration is given a vast temporal numerology: 100 years to praise her eyes, 200 each breast, and 30,000 'to the rest', valuing *that* as infinite. Time however constricts, tyrannically, as a forbidding war-like and aerial, almost an avenging, spirit:

> But at my back I always hear
> Time's winged chariot hurrying near:
> And yonder all before us lie
> Desarts of vast Eternity.

The thought is of unending nothingness. Though the mysterious future has now all that he earlier seemed to expect of infinite space and time, it is yet a 'desart'. That is, meaningless: whether we survive in it or not, a blank emphasis lies, so far as we can see, ahead. His song will not echo there, nor in her grave.

But is there not a better way?

> Now therefore, while the youthful hew
> Sits on thy skin like morning dew,
> And while thy willing Soul transpires
> At every pore with instant fires,
> Now let us sport us while we may . . .

The spiritual is still present: the soul breathes in and through the body. They are to be 'birds', but powerful, as 'birds of prey', which 'devour' Time. All time is caught up in the immediate, the 'instant'. Love's union is won by a 'rough strife' tearing violently through the 'iron gates' of all obstruction. Somehow, in this way,

> though we cannot make our Sun
> Stand still, yet we will make him run.

As are all discussions of abnormal time, that is beyond analysis. We might

suggest that, since all extended time is to be 'devoured', contained, and spatially located in small space and the present hour, it must be revolving infinitely fast. That perhaps is why the lovers are imagined as rolling themselves into 'one ball', an image covering love's embrace, circularity, and rotation. We are speeding differently in a way that puts our well-known Sun, or earth-time, at a loss. This new 'time', if it is that, outspeeds his. We are in a new dimension.

All this is hard enough to express: poetry normally expresses the super-temporal by resort to some spatial symbol of circularity, such as domes, urns, rings; here, Marvell's 'ball'. Verbal definition alone may occasionally achieve some success, as in Eliot's brilliant 'the infirm glory of the positive hour' and 'the one veritable transitory power' of *Ash-Wednesday* (I). The temporal problem involves morality, which might be defined as the technique of extended good, and that involves problems of purity and passion; Eliot's lines suggest the impossibility of a full achievement. Often we are thrown back on simple conceptions of purity, such as those already discussed, but the *Coy Mistress* succeeds poetically in crashing the barrier in terms of undiluted sex. *Bermudas* achieves a coalescence, in terms of nature, with the help of a unique occasion.

*The Definition of Love* offers a variation all its own. The title means what it says: in claiming to define Love's essence, it is close to Plato's *Phaedrus*. There is aspiration to something 'strange and high', 'divine', and impossible of attainment. Towards it the Soul is 'extended', but the 'iron wedges' of Fate bar 'two perfect Loves' from a 'union' which would be her 'ruin'. We are reminded of the use of 'perfection' to describe the esoteric loves celebrated in *Love's Martyr,* the collection in which Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and the Turtle* appeared (discussed in my study *The Mutual Flame,* 1955; for 'perfection', 183-5). Marvell's lovers are apparently of the same sex, though that is not actually stated. Fate is inexorable:

> And therefore her decrees of steel
> Us as the distant poles have plac'd
> (Though Love's whole world on us doth wheel)
> Not by themselves to be embrac'd.

'By themselves': they are as one self; it is a love not of opposites but of similarities, almost identities. That is why, in the bracketed line, it is called the very hub or essence of all love; as was Christ's love of the Beloved in St. John's Gospel, leading on to John's First Epistle, where the expansion is stated; or as in Shakespeare's two all-important Sonnets (113, 114), wherein the Poet's central adoration transfigures all creatures into the likeness of the one perfection.

Nevertheless, apartness is forced. Both Heaven and Earth would suffer 'convulsion' at their union: all divinity, all nature is against it. The definition is exact:

> As lines, so Love's oblique may well
> Themselves in every angle greet:
> But ours so truly parallel,
> Though infinite can never meet.

Love is hampered by its perfection; kept apart by its infinity. It remains a 'conjunction of the Mind'. Here 'infinite' differs from both the vacant 'desarts' and timeless fruition of the *Coy Mistress.* We are pointed towards an enduring, Platonic, life-way. There is no necessary failure, nor limitation.

These poems are from a lonely soul, building riches in itself. In *The Nymph complaining for the death of her Faun,* the white Faun is a virginal love-symbol. It has a 'silver chain and bell'. It is all but a spirit-creature, swift on its 'little silver feet'. Its virginity, like that of the Nuns in *Upon Appleton House,* compacts the richest colours within its own purity:

> But all its chief delight was still
> On roses thus its self to fill:
> And its pure virgin limbs to fold
> In whitest sheets of lilies cold.
> Had it liv'd long, it would have been
> Lilies without, roses within.

If that be a way of life, it is not so bad.

Much of Marvell's best is in *The Garden.* Flowers and trees are contrasted with the false crown of human glory; the 'sacred plants' of inward peace grow better among plants than in social turmoil. Trees are regarded as more beautiful than those whose names lovers cut in them. After the 'heat' of amorous passion, 'love' (contrasted with 'passion') finds its best retreat in a garden; and the old myths well showed passion happily culminating in the transformations of the desired one to a plant.

In describing his peace, the poet gives us a nature more rich, more like that of *Bermudas,* than that of an English garden, with vine, nectarine, peach, melons. We have a fascinating sequence. We watch the poet 'insnar'd with flowers' and falling on grass. Nature is not all comfortable, as many a pic-nic proves. Our pleasure in it is largely *mental.* In *I wandered lonely as a cloud* Wordsworth records how, *after* he has seen them, the daffodils continue to bring 'wealth' to the 'inward eye' of 'solitude'; then his 'heart' is so enriched that it 'dances with', almost becomes, the flowers. Besides, as Wilde once in *De Profundis* wrote: 'It is in the brain that the poppy is red, that the apple is odorous, that the skylark sings'. More, the mind can see beyond nature into a different, more wholly imaginative, nature:

> Mean while the Mind, from pleasure less
> Withdraws into its happiness:
> The Mind, that ocean where each kind
> Does straight its own resemblance find;
> Yet it creates, transcending these,
> Far other worlds, and other seas;
> Annihilating all that's made
> To a green thought in a green shade.

This new nature of the imagination is an approach to that nature which spiritualistic reports tell us we shall know beyond death. Much of our best poetry may be supposed to be concerned, however unknowingly, with such intuitions. Here we are on the edge of mysticism, whereby the

created world dissolves. Typically, for Marvell, it is a mysticism nature-born and colourful with nature's colour. It is a oneness, beyond all details, all created particulars, a Marvellian Nirvana.

We cannot live, and still less talk, for long in such terms. We must come back to earth, bringing with us at least part of what we have known and seen. So next Marvell witnesses to what kind of talk or action does some justice to his experience. It may be called 'spiritualistic':

> Here at the fountain's sliding foot,
> Or at some fruit-tree's mossy root,
> Casting the Body's vest aside,
> My Soul into the boughs does glide:
> There like a bird it sits, and sings,
> Then whets, and combs its silver wings;
> And, till prepar'd for longer flight,
> Waves in its plumes the various light.

The soul-projection indicated is a well-known experience, a variety of 'astral travel'. An excellent modern account is given in Robert Crookall's *The Study and Practice of Astral Projection* (The Aquarian Press, 1961). John Cowper Powys has much to say of it, and urges its practice. The soul remains attached to the body by the 'silver cord' (referred to in Ecclesiastes, XII, 6). In *The Garden* this is not mentioned, but the soul-bird is silver, like the Faun's 'silver feet'. Its final destiny is the 'longer flight' beyond death, into the oneness, or whatever it be, that we shall find; but meanwhile it enjoys the 'various light' of earth (for poetic comparisons of the soul's departure to migrating birds, see my *Neglected Powers*, 1971; 239, note).

A garden that can give such experiences reconciles one to human loneliness. In the *Coy Mistress* sexual passion may with violence hurl itself into a timeless yet transient delight; in *The Definition of Love* a homosexual Platonism achieves an enduring, but strained, perfection; but best of all, perhaps, is this experience of the self watching, and communing with, its own soul-bird. That was the line taken in Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*; and by Powys. We may not all agree all the time, but there are, shall we say, moods at least when we respond to the next stanza:

> Such was that happy garden-state
> While Man there walk'd without a mate.
> After a place so pure, and sweet,
> What other help could yet be meet!
> But 'twas beyond a mortal's share
> To wander solitary there:
> Two paradises 'twere in one
> To live in Paradise alone.

Never was the celibate ideal more crisply defined.

There is one more, final, stanza, which serves as a rounding off; charming, but little more. It lets us down, gently; the intoxication has been so rich.

It will be clear that Marvell's central problem, as a poet, involves a distinction of 'soul' and 'body'. Perhaps in no poet is this distinction so delicately handled. He has two Dialogues about it. One we have touched

on; the other is stronger. It is entitled *A Dialogue between the Soul and Body*. In reading, much is gained by an allowance of humour, giving the Soul an angry speech, and the Body, in its first complaint, a plaintive utterance, as of a weakling on the brink of tears. After that there need be less characterisation.

The Soul sees the Body as a dungeon, all 'bolts' and 'manacles', harsh metals being Marvell's usual image for spiritual constriction. Especially interesting is

> Here blinded with an eye; and there
> Deaf with the drumming of an ear.

Normal sense-perception is felt as sense-constriction. By splitting it into separate body-inlets the soul's full perception is partialised and broken into disjointed particularities; conversely, at the body's dissolution, we might suppose that the soul enjoys the totality. That totality, as spiritualistic reports tell us, finds a new sense-unity whereby sound *is* colour, and so on. As for the Soul's complaint of a 'vain head' and 'double heart', those, at the meeting of soul and body, indicate the ineptitude of man's brain-entwined and brain-cluttered thinking and the insecurity, the sweetness and sinfulness combined, love and hate, of sexually impelled emotions.

On the other side, the Body has its case. The Soul is 'tyrannic'. Matter alone would be at peace in inertia. The Soul lifts it, perpendicular, as a living 'precipice', ready to fall. The point is well-made. Man *is* top-heavy; statues have to be made with feet apart; standing still is a severe test in acting; in decrepitude there may be terror at the first realisation that one cannot safely stand. The Body is at ever-present risk of death. The Soul, it says, 'has made me live to let me die'. Were it not for the Soul, there would be no death. It is, in fact, an 'ill Spirit'.

The Soul replies that it is bound by wicked magic, like Shakespeare's Ariel in the tree, within another's 'grief'. The more the body suffers, 'I feel, that cannot feel, the pain'. The Soul is integral; pure, beyond the physical. It should not, must not, cannot be disturbed by physical 'pain'; and yet it is. A great problem is posed. How far can spirit master pain? The intricacy remains baffling: Marvell has condensed it in a line.

The Body's good is not the Soul's good. The Soul sees itself as

> Constrain'd not only to indure
> Diseases, but, what's worse, the cure:
> And ready oft the port to gain
> Am shipwrackt into health again.

This may refer to the simple opposition of sickness and freedom in death; but the paradox is especially interesting if applied to the strain of mental expansion and uncaptured insight under some abnormal experience of which the worst part may be the certain knowledge of its transience. I once, in *Atlantic Crossing* (1936; p .290), recorded such an experience of my own, fearing, despite the suffering, a return to the 'rabbit' consciousness of normality.

The Body's list of the maladies taught by the Soul include 'hope', 'fear', 'love', 'hatred', all intertwined with sharp physical connotations, and the twin madnesses of 'joy' and 'sorrow'. There is worse:

> What but a Soul could have the wit
> To build me up for Sin so fit?

It seems to be all part of some cruel artistry:

> So architects do square and hew
> Green trees that in the forest grew.

Paradox and purpose are juxtaposed.

We cannot discuss such poetry to any purpose without recurrence to terms which find no respect or understanding outside the occult and spiritualistic sciences.

But spirit accounts alone will not make poetry, however true, valuable, and even necessary they may often be. Poetry is made from the fusion of two orders, the etheric and the earthly, spirit and body. This fusion may be found throughout the expansive deployments of epic and drama, or within the minutiae of phrase and image. Marvell's excellence lies in the precision with which on a small scale, but with vast import, he handles his spirit realities and combines them with earthly experience, variously distinguishing them and making them coalesce; often in small space rolling them—to use his own phrase—'into one ball', one poetic miniature, crammed equally with naturalistic perception and esoteric insight; as when in *Music's Empire,* after music has been described as growing from the rough sounds of nature to the instrumental harmonies of man, we have the exquisite and sense-confounding phrase: 'Then Music, the mosaic of the Air. . . .'

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NOTE: References in Roman figures are to the edition of Andrew Marvell's poems edited by Hugh Macdonald and published by Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. (1952). Spelling and punctuation have sometimes been modernised and capitals reduced.

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# THREE SUFFOLK ANCESTORS:

## Adam One, Two and Three

**by Evelyn Hardy**

A GREAT deal has been written about John Winthrop, the first Governor of Massachusetts who sailed from the Isle of Wight for Boston in April, 1630, on board the *Ar'bella,* but little about his immediate ancestors—his father, paternal grandfather and great-grandfather. These three men were all confusingly called Adam, a Christian name much favoured by the family and perpetuated for many generations. The suffix of the surname—*trop, throp* or *thorpe*—indicates Viking origins. The forbears of the Winthrops had belonged to the Danelaw, lands running northeast of Watling Street, bounded by the North Sea and extending into Danish Northumbria, north of the Humber. Roving, piratical, merciless people, tamed by Christianity and placated by these rich eastern lands, they eventually settled in Yorkshire where a Wintrop is to be found in the year 1200, and later others in Lincolnshire (where a village bears their name), in Nottinghamshire, and in south-western Suffolk. It is with this branch of the family that we are concerned.

The first Adam is said to have been born in 1468 (before the keeping of Parish Registers). His wife's name was Joan Burton, or Burnell. He was a clothier, and he lived in Lavenham, one of the most famous and prosperous of all the East Anglian wool-towns. What is alleged to have been his house is still standing. Half of it has been restored. While it cannot rival that of the Essex clothier, Thomas Paycocke of Coggeshall (about whom and whose home Eileen Power has written so vividly) Winthrop's house could be, if wholly restored, 'the most beautiful in Lavenham'. It has the largest oriel window of any house in the town and originally the entire front overhung the street, the exterior beams being carved with shields and Tudor flowers. (Elaborate, gay, even riotous, the East Anglian wood-carving is English Renaissance work at its best. One sees it, too, in stone in the splendid churches with their tall massive towers, in Lavenham and Long Melford, where the nameless masons wrought their work with hammer and chisel for the glory of God, and the rich clothiers!) Inside the house a stone spiral staircase formerly led to the rooms above, one of which is beautifully panelled. The large chimney stack, characteristic of many in Suffolk, suggests warmth and hospitality for dwellers, visitors and even workers. On the inside beams, moulded and carved, between angels with outspread wings, the letter *W* is prominent. The angels—and magnificent angels are an especial feature of Suffolk carving—are in turn flanked by carvings of Our Lord with crown of thorns and pierced side, together with the crowned figure of (it is thought) Edward the Confessor holding the orb in one hand, the other raised in blessing.

Part of the house is now used as offices and the other half as rooms for students. It seems fitting that the whole became the Grammar School in

the sixteenth century, among its pupils being Constable, the painter, who suffered from maltreatment there, and Arthur Young, writer and agriculturalist; for the Winthrops and their descendants have always been noted for their intellectual leanings. Such a fine fifteenth century residence indicates that this first Adam, who must have built it when he was in his early forties, was a prosperous clothier in the village which country people still call La'nam. The pattern is set for another generation.

What exactly was a clothier?—(and I suspect that in the broad East Anglian dialect the word was pronounced cloth-yer, since it concerns cloth and the making of cloth, not clothing or clothes). Briefly, he may be described as a mercantile middleman. At first the clothiers sold wool outright to the spinners, weavers, fullers, dyers and cloth-shearers when wool was the chief source of revenue to the Crown. Later, with increasing competition from abroad and among English clothiers, the system changed, and the clothier merely parcelled out the wool to the men, women and even children, who did their specialised work and returned the finished article back to him. This was known as the 'putting out system', and although the clothier set many hands to work there was great dissatisfaction and unrest among the workers who became mere wage-men, often forced to work in the clothier's large house instead of in their own homes, thereby losing status and self-respect.

The clothier waxed great in power and purse: he was the backbone of the new, rising middle-class, wedged between the overlords and peasantry. He was the originator of domestic industry, later to be swept out of the East Anglian cottage-homes and villages into the large factories of the north. But he was also a staunch resister of oppressive and unwarrantable royal taxation. East Anglia, especially Suffolk, has always been noted for its independence in political and religious thought: two and a half centuries before Adam the 1st, in the year before Magna Carta, the Barons had stood before the High Altar of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds to swear to resist curtailment of their strength and rights. The Clothier did the same in his own field.

Lavenham, where this Adam Winthrop lived and worked, is one of the most beautiful of all Suffolk villages. It has more timber-framed buildings connected with the wool trade than any other town in England, which by this time was so noted for her cloth that it was thought no shame to send a distinguished foreigner some as a precious gift. More than a dozen kinds of worsted were being manufactured in East Anglia: Lavenham was noted for its 'cloth of blue'; Kersey and Lindsey, neighbouring hamlets, for their cloths named after them, so well-known that they appeared in the poetry of Adam's contemporary Skelton (a Norfolk man), and later in that of Donne, Nashe and Gray. But Lavenham had reached international renown. A century earlier, when Richard II demanded loans from seventy of the most important towns in England, Lavenham contributed £20: and an ancient map in the Musée Plantin at Antwerp shows England with Lavenham writ large across it. In Adam the 1st's day there were three Trade Guild Halls, for the control and regulation of the standard and

selling of cloth, dedicated to *Our Lady, The Holy Trinity,* and *St. Peter.* Two of these are still standing. There was also the Hall of the *Guild of Corpus Christi,* which has been magnificently restored. Adam would have walked about this splendid building, the principal meeting-place of the clothiers, where they met to govern the wool trade and discuss its problems. Here the discontented apprentices brought and aired their grievances; the Guild's head deciding in favour of employer, or apprentice: here the wages of the all-important weavers, many of them Flemish, were fixed; and the inevitable quarrels between guildsmen of mixed blood and rivalries settled. The *Guildhall of Our Lady* was used as a Cloth Hall or Exchange. (It later became and was called a Wool Hall.) Here, too, Adam, as an important Clothier, would have taken an active part in its gatherings.

Adam the 2nd was born in 1498, 'in the year after the Battle of Blackheath', the family tree states—the battle which was the dismal end of men who had marched unimpeded all the way from Cornwall to within sight of London-town, where Latimer, a lad of only thirteen at the time, buckled together the King's harness.

This second Adam possessed an exceptional amount of energy and ambition. At seventeen he took himself off from Lavenham to London where he was apprenticed, probably through his father's intervention, to a Yorkshire Clothier who later became Sheriff of the capital. In these days it was not easy to be taken on as an apprentice. The Guilds were strong: the number of apprentices was limited: the standard of craftsmanship was high, and had to be learnt: rules disciplining the apprentices were rigorous, and fit, *they* thought, sometimes to be broken! The years required for learning their craft were ten or a dozen so that young men, ready to be married and capable of doing skilled work, were still tethered to apprenticeship. Not more than half of them ever became freemen. Often a high premium must be paid to have them accepted in the beginning, and again to be made free of the Clothmaker's Company. (Their masters had to feed, clothe and teach them, as well as pay the fee if they kept them on.) Some ran away, as far as Ireland: some were recovered: some transferred themselves to more congenial masters: some, if they had been deceived, took their masters to law, yes, and won their cases: some died, and that was an end of them.

Adam the 2nd stuck out the rigorous training and hedging laws and, in 1526, when he was 28, was made free of the City of London. When he was 38 he was made a Steward of the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers, the most powerful of all the City Companies, to which even Kings sought entrance. Then he became Quarter Warden, next Upper Warden, and finally (when he was 53) Master of the great Company, a much coveted office which Pepys accepted as an honour in the next century. He had come a long way from being a learner under his father in Lavenham.

The importance and wealth of the Winthrops at this time may be judged by an accident (wrongly attributed to Adam for many years), which befell a relation of the same surname, who was summoned before the Privy Council, in 1543, to answer a charge for 'coloring French goods'. This

means entering a French merchant's cloth at the customs house under the name of a freeman to avoid additional duties. The laws against the importing of French cloth were strict at this time, when Henry VIII had declared war on the King of France for withholding his royal pension. No goods were to be imported without especial licence under the Great Seal. Thomas was thrown into the Fleet and there detained until he could raise and pay into the royal coffers a fine of £600—an enormous sum, equal today to £6,000 or more. Who bailed Thomas out is not known, whether the Clothworker's Company, or his relations, most influential among them 'cousin'(?) Adam.

Meanwhile Adam the 2nd had bought himself a 'town house' in St. Michael's, Cornhill, in addition to a greater in Suffolk. These early Winthrops had two outstanding characteristics, devoutness, and greatness of heart—deep affection for their Suffolk lands, for their sisters and brothers, their wives and children. When this Adam's sister died he wrote in Latin in his *Journal*, 'She was the light of my life and the marrow of my bones'. In the same year in which he was made Quarter Warden of the Clothworkers (in 1544), Adam purchased from the Crown, to which it had reverted at the Dissolution, a Manor mentioned in Domesday, and formerly in the hands of the great Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds—*Groton*, pronounced Grawton in Suffolk and Grotton in New England. This lies roughly south of Lavenham and north of Constable's Vale of Dedham. The new Lord of the Manor took an immediate and active interest in country affairs, his first duty being to present a new Rector to the living, which he did in 1546.

In between becoming Quarter and Upper Wardens of the Company Adam the 2nd had become 'a gentleman'. He was inscribed as an armiger, or esquire, in 1548, under the hand and seal of the youthful Edward VI, and he took for his crest something rare in heraldry—*a hare proper running on a mount vert*, that is a hare of natural colours running over a green hill. How often as a lad must he have seen and loved this creature of the Suffolk fields, 'running races in her mirth' in the 'plashy' meadows, over the green rolling hills, under the tall wych-elms and huge-clouded skies painted later by Constable.

Before retiring to *Groton* he had also had his portrait painted. We can see him today in a somewhat devout posture reminiscent of men in the old group paintings of Guildsmen, his hands crossed, and an alert expression on his face. He wears a furred gown, a doublet with white ruched cuffs and collar, and small ear-rings, which remained popular with young gallants up to the time of Elizabeth and were favoured by the young poet Donne. The portrait, long attributed to Holbein, belongs to the 1540s or '50s, which would accord with Adam's rise to the head of his profession. It survived the Great Fire of London in which the presumed group painting was destroyed, and was taken by his descendants to the Colony they founded—Massachusetts.

In the meantime Adam had married, twice. By his first wife, Alice, he had five children. Four of them died young, and were all christened and buried in St. Michael's, Cornhill. By his second wife, Agnes of Islington,

he had eight. A prolific lot these men of Tudor times, the number of births rising with better food and increased prosperity; but the fertility is offset by the appalling infant mortality. However, Agnes had youth on her side and all her children lived, bar one of the twins.

Only a handful of years after he had retired to his native Suffolk and begun to attend to his new duties as Lord of the Manor, Adam the 2nd died at the age of 64, in 1562. He was buried in Groton churchyard and a large stone was engraved and in time attached to the tomb's side. (This succeeded a small bronze plaque which later made its way with other family possessions to the new America, but has now been returned.) The *stone* was of 'touch', that is black marble. A change in fashions and materials here. For hundreds of years brasses had been popular. Only a little over 30 years before Winthrop's death Thomas Pownder and his wife, Emma, of Ipswich had had a splendid and exquisitely cut Flemish brass put up to their memory, depicting him in his long furred gown and she in her delicately pointed steeple-headdress, their children kneeling at their feet, and Pownder's merchant's mark on a shield conspicuously centred between them. But for Adam his family chose black stone from Amsterdam, reverting to a fashion of the twelfth century when black marble from Tournai was popular. This so-called 'touch' was later to be used by Nicholas Stone, the carver of Donne's funeral monument, who favoured it for some of his aristocratic customers.

Wills are one of the means of bringing the long-dead to life, so let us look at Adam the 2nd's. The thing that strikes us about it first is its new 'tone'. It lacks those numerous devout bequests to local Abbeys, churches, chantry-chapels, priests, friars and nuns—or for trentals to be said for his soul. These are prominent in the Will of Thomas Paycocke of Coggeshall who died in 1518, *before* the Dissolution. In close on a quarter of a century *after* the Dissolution the 'bare ruined choirs', of which Shakespeare was to sing, had become factual and visible: the stones of the greater and lesser monastic houses were being used to build more parish churches and houses, repair town walls and conduits, and to make up what Langland called 'wicked ways', and Adam the 3rd, in his *Diaries*, 'fowle ways', that is abominable roads. Nor is the second Adam concerned with his workfolk and neighbours as Paycocke was. He had retired from city life and from being Master of the great London Company. It is disappointing, too, not to find lists of petty possessions—stacks of timber under favourite ashtrees, pewter-pots with pet names, a favourite cow called *Lusty* or *Brindle*, a short sword, or a furred gown. For Adam was concerned now with the Lordship of his Manor, with land, buildings, tenements, rents and sums owing him from his extensive property; with woods, coppices and 'feedings' (pastures), as we shall see.

The second fact that stands out is his extreme care to protect his widow, Agnes, still in her forties, from encroachment on his generous bequests to her, by his sons. Her name appears as many as seventeen times in his Will. She was to be sole executrix and to inherit 'all in my manor of *Groton* with the advowson of the benefice there', and so on—lands,

buildings, tenements in Groton and elsewhere, from which no doubt he drew large rents. She was to inherit, too, 'the use of the Manor for her natural life', as well as the great Chamber and best chamber (bedroom) in the house at St. Michael's Cornhill, 'with her deputy or servants, without let or hindrance . . . freely and without charge . . . together with the pewter, brasse, bedding and other necessaries and implements there', such as warming-pans, candlesticks, fire-dogs, ewers and wash-basins, perhaps. Adam's jewellery went to her, too, and we long in vain to know what this was, for a tale of another, a royal jewel, is connected with Adam the 3rd.

Out of his 13 children by his two marriages the second Adam was survived by eight. William, the eldest son and only surviving child of the first marriage, followed his father's trade, that of a Clothier. To him the father left all his wearing apparel, of considerable value in those days of fine cloths and furs. He also bequeathed to William his house in St. Michael's, Cornhill, provided always that, as we have seen, his mother Agnes should not be excluded from it. So William was content to remain a London man. He died at 49 and is buried beside his infant sisters and brothers in this parish.

To John, Agnes his second wife's surviving twin, Adam the 2nd left the lease of the mansion of *Groton* together with the cottages, farm buildings, orchards, etc., etc. Furthermore he left him—and this is an interesting bequest because it tells us something of mid-sixteenth century customs—'all such moveable household stuff as, first, the ceiling in the hall and wainscote round about the hall, the window portals and screens, a frame and long table in the said hall', what we today would wrongly call a 'refectory table' of great size to accommodate all the family and guests who came and went at *Groton*. The carved panelling and buttery screens were of considerable monetary value. They could be detached from the ceiling and walls and carried to another house, or they could be sold. And to John, his second son, he left, like Shakespeare to his wife, one of his great feather-beds 'with the bedstead and all its hangings', probably embroidered by Agnes herself.

To his four daughters he left £50 (call it at least £500) apiece, to be given to them on their wedding-days. They all of them married well, not Clothiers but men of good ancient East Anglian stock, the Mildmays of Essex, the Alabasters (Normans) of Hadleigh, the Risbys of Thorpe Morieux and the Veyseys of Ipswich. As Defoe was to observe later of West-countrymen, many a man who made his way through wool put new life into the upper, more privileged classes. Adam's daughters' entry was facilitated by their father's purchase of *Groton Manor*. To Adam, the youngest son, the 'apple of his eye', he left residual property, but he was well endowed. He was only fourteen when his father died and he was shortly doubly orphaned, for his mother Agnes, although she re-married, was dead in less than three years after Adam the 2nd's death.

This Adam the 3rd was born in 1548—'in the street called Gracious' as the Latin pedigree puts it—that is Gracechurch Street, hard by St. Michael's, Cornhill, where the Master of the Clothworker's Company had

his town house. (It had been an auspicious year for the father, the same year in which he had been made an esquire and had chosen his coat of arms.)

Although he is closer to us than either his father, or grandfather, we know little of the youth and boyhood of Adam the 3rd. He may have gone up to Cambridge; but we are on surer ground when we say that he 'was of the Inner Temple', for we have corroboration of this in several quarters. Later he was to become Auditor of both St. John's and the greater Trinity College, Cambridge. This may have come about through his first marriage to Alice Still of Grantham. She was the sister of the future Bishop of Bath and Wells (the author of a hymn on the Armada, and perhaps of the second English comedy in verse, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*) who in the 1570s was Rector of Hadleigh and Archdeacon of Sudbury, neighbouring villages to Groton. Thus Adam and Alice probably became acquainted. What is significant is that Still was also Master of St. John's and Vice-Chancellor of Trinity, so it looks as though a little family influence was at work. Alice died in childbirth, but Adam remained friends with 'My Lord of Bath' who frequently wrote to him, and the two families intermarried again at a later date.

Even in his wildest dreams as a lad this Adam Winthrop cannot have imagined that he would ever become Lord of his father's Manor. He had two elder brothers, and to the second one, John, the Manor had been bequeathed. However, John was drawn to an Irish venture with his brother-in-law and he finally settled on the southern shores of County Cork, where he remained, having sold *Groton* to his brother Adam the 3rd, in 1594. So, at 46, the youngest son retired to the family estates and immersed himself in the active life of a country gentleman and a county magistrate, keeping courts, attending assizes, being made Overseer of the Poor, then Searcher of Cloths (for which his ancestry fitted him—cloth, not wool, was now the leading export of the land) and Auditor of two Cambridge Colleges. He took a keen interest in education. He and his brother John were two of the 37 governors and benefactors of Boxford Grammar School, granted a new charter under Queen Elizabeth. From time to time he was called upon to lend money to the Queen, and the sums are carefully noted in his *Diaries*.

We have no record that he was ever at Court. Yet there is a family tradition, often repeated in print, that he made the gift of a ring to the young Prince Charles (later Charles I), which Adam the 3rd's grandson, John, returning from New England, rendered on bended knee back to Charles II, thereby obtaining the Governorship of the new colony of Connecticut. (A miniature of Charles II in the descendants' hands today would seem to imply some corroboration of the tradition.)

Adam's second wife was Anne Browne of Edwardstone (a neighbouring hamlet), by whom he had four surviving children—three daughters and a cherished son, John, born in Armada year, who became the celebrated first Governor of Massachusetts. There is a gaiety about Anne and this, together with her loving practical nature, comes across the years to us in

letters which she wrote to her husband, and others. Here is a quotation from the one to Adam, written when they had been married for eight years.

> To my very loving husband Mr. Adam Winthrop give these in London, 1587. In the meantime [that is, during his absence from home] I will remain as one having a great inheritance, or riche treasure, and it being by force kept from him; or he being in a strange country and cannot enjoy it, longeth continually after it, sighing and sorrowing that he is so long bereft of it, yet rejoicing that he hath so great treasure pertaining to him, and hopeth that one day the time will come that he shall enjoy it and have the whole benefit of it.

So much for steadfast love. She goes on to assure him that some fat capons will be sent up to him when they are ready. She sends instead a shirt and five pairs of hose, all made with her own hands. She urges him to sell these, if he likes, as 'she has more a-knitting'. She then commends him to God, adding that she hopes he prays for her daily, as she does for him. There follows a postscript in sixteenth century French:

> Je vous rende grace de la bonne souvenance que vous avez de moy Bible francois. Je vous prie de l'ennvoyer par le Rouillier [that is, the carrier].

Of this important French Bible we shall hear more later.

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SOURCES

*The Winthrop Papers*, Vol. I (1498-1628), Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1925, based on the originals now in the British Museum, the gift of Adam's descendant.

*Lavenham*, Lingard Ranson, 5th edition, 1965.

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# WHY SOME DUCKS ARE LAME

## by Ian Harvey

IT seems possible that Mr. Heath is now being forced by circumstances to reconsider his proposition of a 'quiet revolution' and that Mr. John Davies regrets his declaration on the subject of 'lame ducks'. But it would be a mistake to subscribe to the over-hasty judgement of numerous political commentators that neither will ultimately achieve their objectives although the road ahead is fraught with dangers and difficulties.

However unpopular he may be at the moment Mr. Heath has shown himself to be a determined Prime Minister who will neither pander to nor be deflected by public opinion and Mr. Davies, however lacking he may be in political expertise and inept in the use of political phraseology, is undoubtedly the most experienced business-man in the House of Commons. The acerbity of their critics is evidence of this. In the long run both may be proved to have been right and, whatever the wishful thinkers may believe, it is still a long run.

But neither Mr. Heath nor Mr. Davies can escape the fact that there is 'something rotten in the State of Denmark' now that they have embarked on the task of persuading private enterprise to stand on its own feet. The disasters over Rolls-Royce, V & G, and Upper Clyde all point to this and it is not convincing merely to blame the whole thing upon the Labour Government. Nor is it constructive from the point of view of the future. It is clear that the Conservatives, on coming to power, miscalculated the psychological effect of emergent Socialism upon the leaders of industry who, despite their opposition to it, were only too ready to rely on government assistance directly they found themselves in trouble. Nor did they bother to count the cost. Had the Labour Party been returned to power in 1970 there is little doubt that they would have begun to demand increased returns of at least 51 per cent controlling interest. And who could blame them? And no one with any understanding of the immediate political scene can blame the 'left-wing' of the Labour Party for indicating that if they return to power they will certainly do this, and more, and without remuneration. The only sensible alternative now left for the Labour Party to put before the people is the creation of the Socialist State and all that that implies. Whether the people will consider that sensible is another matter.

The first Conservative miscalculation was the assumption that private enterprise really desired to re-generate its original impulses. That is capable of a reasonably swift re-adjustment of the mental processes that is now being performed by the government. The second miscalculation goes deeper and is less easy to resolve because it concerns the ability of private enterprise to implement its restored philosophy. The solution to that has its roots in the quality, and lack of quality, of management.

It is here that the basic problems exist. Management is top heavy, in

many cases it is ill-trained and, worst of all, it lacks the ability to communicate because it is too aloof or insufficiently concerned with either individual or mass psychology. That is a situation which must concern any government whether it believes in private enterprise or state control and it is one which applies as much to the public as to the private sector. Here, there is a variation in that the nationalised industries are not concerned in the same way with past traditions or family ties nor with company promotion amounting on occasions almost to company-worship. When carried to extremes such conceptions can be disastrous but they are by no means totally devoid of merit and the major failing of the nationalised industries is a lack of interest on the part of their staffs in belonging to them or of caring fourpence where they are supposed to be going. And the responsibility for that state of affairs rests with top management to whom the central government has delegated authority.

This is a condition which no Government, realising that the economy is dependent upon the effectiveness of industry, can afford to disregard. Whatever its political philosophy any government must accept the fact that in its dealings with the people humanity comes first. Any government which chooses to ignore this elementary proposition will swiftly cease to govern unless of course it is authoritarian. The present Government confronted with a New Year's present of a million unemployed should be particularly conscious of this.

For government this is primarily a matter for legislation; for industry it is a personal operation. Management which ignores the human factor in the so-called interests of profitability and the indiscriminate cutting of costs in order to meet competition is putting itself and the economy, which it claims to understand, at risk. This may, on the face of it, appear illogical in that an industry which runs at a loss or is over-staffed cannot be successful. But what has to be examined is the cause of this condition. It is always necessary to put things right when they are wrong: what is more important is to assess the reasons why they have gone wrong in the first place. Of recent months there has been too much evidence of being wise after the event. It would have been very much better to have been wise beforehand and thus averted disaster.

Companies are rightly concerned with the definition of clear objectives in the conduct of their affairs. They are often too little concerned with the fact that each man has his own objectives and, although these are sometimes unattainable for personal or communal reasons, it is wholly desirable to attempt to discover what they are and to be seen to pay attention to them. This avoids the confusion and unhappiness which arises when square pegs find themselves in round holes and no one appears to care as long as the work gets done. It is important that management should keep a continuous and methodical watch in order to identify a man's strong points and to develop them and conversely to check on weaknesses and, where possible, to correct them by constructive advice or training. While it would be churlish and ill-informed to suggest that many companies do not appreciate this and act accordingly there is

reason to believe that too many do not and, even if they do, adopt methods which are inadequate. As a result not only the individuals but the companies themselves suffer.

The responsibility for carrying out this task rests on the shoulders of managers who are too often concerned with their own advancement rather than that of their subordinates and, under the worst conditions, tend to resent the advancement of their staff in case their own jobs are threatened as a result. Such people are not fit to manage. There is also evidence that there is an inclination on the part of management to classify staffs arbitrarily into two main groups: good and bad. This is a dangerous calculation because although it may not always be wrong, it makes no provision for errors of judgement. It postulates once good always good, once bad always bad. Furthermore it omits the proper consideration of the very considerable reservoir of middle-of-the-road people who, if properly assessed, can improve and if neglected can deteriorate. In order to avoid this situation which is damaging to men's lives and consequently amoral and anti-social it is the duty of management to establish and maintain a conscientious system of staff appraisal.

Such a system implies the correct reckoning of a man's achievements of previously agreed objectives, his use of the human, material and financial resources available to him, his development of personal relationships both inside and outside his organisation and his ability to communicate both verbally and in writing. This process applies not only to the exercise of middle management in dealing with subordinates but also to top management in dealing with middle management. It also provides the material in the highest echelons when appointments to board-room control have to be made.

A great deal has been said and written lately on the subject of the change which is taking place in our industrial structure due largely to technological development. One of the results of this has been the increase in the figures of unemployed which affect not only manual workers but in many cases executives in positions of considerable authority who have been caught unprepared. Many of these are finding themselves ejected at an age when it is increasingly difficult to find re-employment. This is producing a new and unpleasant kind of 'brain-drain' of a serious social character. The reading of advertisements for appointments in any national newspaper invariably indicates that those above 50, and very often 45, need not apply. This is a foolish categorisation. Many men of 50, by reason of their ability and experience, have more to offer than those of 40 and under and they are unemployed for reasons which were not of their making and were beyond their control. The creation of this 'scrap-heap' of ability governed by age limits and pension considerations is neither in the national interest nor is it socially commendable. The remedy lies in a more imaginative expansionist policy by government. It is also necessary to provide the facilities for executives to study alternative occupations so that they themselves can become more flexible. It is only open to the very few outside the professional

classes to assume that they will always be able to continue in the organisation in which they began. Too many of the victims of mergers are to-day roaming the streets and that too is an area at which management at board-room level is showing scant regard for human considerations. They should not be surprised if, in due course, the government takes action to curb their sadistic tendencies.

At the recruitment end of the scale the school-leaver is finding himself in trouble and so also is the graduate. This is primarily due to the failure on the part of the educationalists to keep the proper contacts with industry and *vice-versa.* Whereas the wastage of to-day's expertise is undesirable, the unemployment, or mis-employment, of the human resources of to-morrow can sow the seeds of disaster and contribute vastly to every kind of social misdemeanour. Not only should the educationalists, through the medium of careers masters and the like, make certain that they are preparing their pupils for the right jobs but industry must accept its social responsibility for assisting in the preparation of youth for the future. If that is not properly done the future is indeed bleak both for youth and for society and industry itself will suffer.

There are to-day numerous organisations concerned with management consultancy who have made it their business, in more senses than one, to study the psychological processes which ought to be called into play not only in recruitment but also in management selection and staff appraisal. In view of the importance of their work it can be argued that they should be subject to more strict and more professional codes of procedure. Many of them are, in the main, highly qualified and conduct themselves accordingly. Too often their services, or their advice, are rejected on the grounds that the man on the spot knows best. As in the case of the man in Whitehall this is by no means invariably true. Too often the man on the spot is prejudiced or too much influenced by purely personal considerations to be truly objective in his outlook. Even though his must be the final decision a second opinion is always valuable. Whatever may be the view of such organisations and their activities it is clear that the function which they perform is vitally important whether or not it is performed by them or by industry within itself.

Whether or not Britain joins the Common Market she is commercially very much part of the European sphere. The hostility of the Trade Unions towards membership reflects, one suspects, that they fear competition from the European workers and a threat to many of the idols which they worship. There is little justification for this. British Industry and the British worker have nothing to fear in this connection from Europe. It is only on the level of management that there is likely to be a serious contest. With an army of lame ducks there would be serious cause for alarm. Fortunately that is not the case but it is essential that there should be no stragglers because it is those who fall down who attract attention rather than those who keep standing on their feet.

The strength of Britain, no longer the centre of an Empire and only marginally the head of a Commonwealth of which the members are

becoming increasingly independent and whose attentions are turned in other directions, is her democratic tradition and character. British democracy is, moreover, not just a political system although as such it is both dynamic and effective whatever her critics may say. It is a way of life and that implies both social and industrial, as well as political, democracy. It is in the second sphere that the real weakness lies because of a failure on the part of industrialists to get their priorities right.

Whatever changes may be brought about by technological or mechanical revolution the driving force is man and will always remain so. Consequently it is imperative that more attention be paid to man and his management. It is no sophistry to observe that this is the proper study of mankind. It is upon this study that industry must fully embark. There must be no more lame ducks because lame ducks are not merely organisations to be liquidated indiscriminately. Lame ducks involve people and in an industrial democracy people matter. They must, if necessary, be hospitalised and cured: not just shot for the edification of the political shooting parties.

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# THE SOUTH-EASTERN STATE OF NIGERIA

## by Benjamin Udoma

THERE are two main reasons why I have singled out the South-Eastern State of Nigeria for the present article. Firstly, it is a part of the former Eastern Region of Nigeria most affected by the Nigerian Civil War of 1966-1970. Many of the articles written about the South-Eastern State of Nigeria, quite apart from the fact that they were related to the then civil war in progress, left several essential questions unanswered. The purpose of this article is to fill some of the gaps and thus enable interested readers to have at their disposal more information about the State and certain resources and opportunities within it.

It is also important to note that, since the cessation of hostilities in Nigeria, many would-be foreign investors have come to regard the former Eastern Region of Nigeria—now divided into the East Central, Rivers and the South-Eastern States—as a depressed area. The result has been that businessmen see the area as unattractive for investment.

The South-Eastern State of Nigeria comprises a land area of more than 11,166 square miles with an approximate population of 4.5 million people. The coast line extends from Opobo in the West to Calabar in the East. This area comprises the south eastern tip of the Federation of Nigeria and lies within longitude 7° 30 and 9° 30 east of the Greenwich meridian and latitude 4° 30 and 7° 00 north of the Equator. The main ports Calabar, Opobo and Oron are within easy reach of the Atlantic Ocean (the Bight of Biafra). Although Calabar and Opobo are the oldest and were the major ports of the Oil Rivers Protectorate, Eket and Stubbs Creek also hold future prospects of being developed into modern sea-ports. Ibono and James Town, with their sandy beaches stretching for miles along the Atlantic sea front, are ideally suited for tourist industry which could earn foreign exchange for the State and country.

The vegetation of the State ranges from mangrove swamps and thick virgin tropical rain forests along the coastal strip to an open grassland which culminates in the famous Obudu Ranch in the far north of Ogoja. The whole land area lies on the fertile Cross River Basin, along which flows the Cross River which for centuries has served as the major means of transport and communication between the northern and southern parts of the present State.

At the moment, the only remaining extensive blocks of forests are East of the Cross River of which forest area, 2,600 square miles, consists of the Government Reserves. The major forest products are timber, the palm oil and kernels, piassava raffia and rubber, most of which are exported. The palm belt extends from the Niger Delta up to about 95 miles inland, gradually thinning into grassland. Many of the palm trees grow wild, but there are also three oil palm estates within this belt, significant in terms of their export earning capacity.

The Calaro Estate which covers 12,000 acres was established in 1954 at the cost of £406,375 and is regarded as one of the most modern in the world. The second, Kwa Falls Estate developed since 1947, covers an area of over 6,000 acres with a total investment of over £½ million. Calabar Oil Palm Estates, owned by Pamol Limited, is one of the oldest. Since its establishment in 1937, its assets were valued at about £1 million in 1963 and must be worth much more today. These three estates covering a total area of well over 30,000 acres and augmenting the wild palm trees have greatly increased the export earning capacity of the whole Federation of Nigeria. Before mineral oil was discovered in sufficient quantities to warrant commercial exploitation, palm oil, palm kernels and piassava constituted the major sources of revenue for the Eastern Region and indeed for the whole country. The palm oil produced in the former Eastern Region of Nigeria forms over 90 per cent of the total purchases for the whole Federation of Nigeria.

Taking the value of total exports from Nigeria for the period 1953-1957, that is, before mineral oil became a significant component of exports, the following picture emerges:

| *Year* | *Value of Palm Products Exports (£m.)* | *Value of Total Trade (£m.)* | *Percentage Share of Palm Products* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1953 | 14.1 | 146.2 | 9.6 |
| 1954 | 20.8 | 129.8 | 16.0 |
| 1955 | 19.2 | 132.3 | 14.5 |
| 1956 | 21.2 | 124.2 | 17.0 |
| 1957 | 20.0 | 132.8 | 15.0 |

These figures are calculated from Nigeria Trade Reports. The data used exclude figures for palm products passing through the ports of Tiko and Victoria in the Cameroons plus some smuggled out through Fernando Po.

The above figures, which paint a lucid picture of the foreign exchange earning capacity of Nigeria, highlight the crucial role played in the economy of the country as a whole by palm products, which earned about 15-17 per cent of the Federation's export revenue. And while it is true that in 1966 mineral oil, about two-thirds of it from the former Eastern Region, provided 32.4 per cent of Nigeria's exports, in terms of public revenue, the picture is rather different. Figures given in West Africa for July 1, 1967 revealed that the expected contribution of mineral oil to Nigeria Federal revenue in 1967 was £22.7 million out of the total revenue of £161 million; that is 14 per cent of the total revenue. Estimates of the contribution of mineral oil from the former Eastern Region of Nigeria on the basis of these figures is about 9.4 per cent. Although figures for palm products and mineral oil for different periods are being compared, it is safe to suggest that the percentage contribution of mineral oil from the former Eastern Region to the Federation's revenue, for the period up to and including 1967, fell far below the percentage contribution of palm produce for the period 1953-57.

In the second place, the luxuriant virgin rain forests of the Old Calabar Province harbours three large rubber estates with a total area of over 36,000 acres. The largest—the Dunlop Rubber Estate of 20,000 acres—

was established at a cost of about £2 million. Up to 1952 2,000,000 rubber trees were planted and there is a factory capable of handling more than 3,000 gallons of field latex per day. The second estate, Ikot Mbo Rubber Estate owned by Pamol Ltd. and established in 1907 at a cost of about £½ million, produces some 1,000 tons of sheet and crepe rubber annually. Finally, the Oban (Nigeria) Rubber Ltd. with an area of 12,000 acres is said to be one of the best models in the world. This estate has recently undergone an extensive expansion in area and in intensity of development.

Cocoa is another important cash crop exported from the State. There are cocoa estates in Ogoja. The most significant of these is the 1,000 acres at Ikom. Exports of this crop rose from 1,008 tons in 1947 to 1,835 tons in 1962 and are now well over 2,000 tons per year.

The most important local food-stuffs—cassava, rice maize, yams and a variety of beans—are grown in various parts of the State. Rice production is concentrated in Ogoja and as far back as 1953 there were in existence in Ogoja mills capable of handling 30,000 tons of paddy rice annually. What is urgently needed are improvements in methods of processing and preservation of local foodstuffs. For instance, garri, the most important staple food of the people, could be commercially produced and exported if suitable machines could be devised to integrate the processes. This to a large extent depends on the ability of the citizens to adapt themselves to meet new situations. There is also the important problem of finding the capital for such projects.

In livestock production Obudu Ranch, situated in 5,000 feet Obudu Plateau, covers 20,000 acres. Up to March 1960, total investment amounted to over £½ million and a nucleus of veterinary medicine has been established. It is necessary to emphasise that diversification of this important industry is essential and much research into animal pest and disease control could improve both the quality and quantity of meat produced. This area holds ideal prospects for a meat packing industry.

When speaking about the mineral resources of the South-Eastern State, a note of cautious optimism should be maintained. The tendency to exaggerate the extent of our mineral wealth must be piped down because of the obvious reason that prospecting for minerals is still in its infancy. Therefore, estimates of the mineral resources of the State should be based upon reliable information about the existence, quantity, quality and the extent of a particular mineral on which firm production projections could be based.

One of the most valuable minerals discovered so far in the State, is mineral petroleum oil. Oil was discovered as early as 1953 at Ikot Akata in Opobo Division. In addition to the three oil wells already in existence there, gas also was struck. Other oil locations at Ekim, Ibioto and Uquo (Eket), have since followed. There are altogether in existence at this moment a total of 11 oil wells. Apart from the known locations, Shell B.P. oil exploration maps reveal extensive geological formations of oil-bearing rocks within the State.

As investment in the petroleum industry in Nigeria is reaching what

W. W. Rostow calls 'a self sustained growth', attention should rather be directed to a related aspect of this industry, namely petrochemical industry. The application of petrochemical industrial technology to Nigeria may be illustrated by certain basic intermediates; that is, chemicals which are required for the production of consumer products such as fibres plastics and detergents, but which must be themselves derived from basic raw materials such as petroleum. For certain other reasons which may become obvious, the South Eastern State could prove well suited for a chemical industry on a large scale.

Other minerals which have been discovered in the State include the following: limestones, manganese, tungsten, titanium, tin, lead-zinc, barite and salt springs. Huge deposits of limestone are found in Calabar and a cement factory is in full production at Odukpani. Manganese, tungsten, and tin are found in the Oban Hills. The extent of these deposits has not yet been fully assessed but geological studies and explorations are being stepped up and their results are likely to be published soon by the Government. One of the most imortant mineral deposits is the lead-zinc located in Ogoja. The Nigerian lead-zinc field extends for about 350 miles in a narrow belt from Ishiagu in Ogoja, through Benue and Adamawa in the north, to Bauchi. Estimates put the extent of the deposits at 30 lodes, with an aggregate length of about 20,000 feet. Drilling has indicated that the lodes extend in depth for hundreds of feet. The metal content is excellent, but the size by world standard is said to be small. Barite and other minerals such as sulphur pyrites are found in association with lead-zinc veins. Although the mining of lead-zinc is undertaken by a company, the economics of commercial production are still being studied.

It could be said that sulphur may prove to be the most important strategic minerals of the State. The manufacture of sulphuric acid is the keystone of the chemical fertilizer, insecticide, paper, paint, explosive, dye, rubber, oil refinery, textile and a host of other manufacturing industries. It has been said by one of the United Nations experts that 'sulphuric acid plays so important a role in commercial chemistry that a country's prosperity can be estimated from its output of this acid.' This explains the earlier suggestion that the Ogoja area is ideally suited for chemical industry, for it could provide the source of raw material in addition to being an area where an intensive agricultural production could be based. Also, an establishment of a chemical industry in the area will suit what some economists call 'the strategy of concentrative drive.' This advocates establishment of at least one centre of capital intensive technology. There are arguments in its favour; firstly, it is common sense to take the most advanced technique available. In the second place, there are economies to be reaped from publicity which stimulates demand while giving stimulus to other sectors of the economy.

We may summarise by making two comments; first, on the manpower situation and second, on the reliance upon cash crops or upon export of primary products as the main source of investment by the State. Investment is defined here as the accumulation of capital per man, or the amount

of equipment at the elbow of each man. The ability to exploit and harness these resources toward desirable economic ends is partly the responsibility of the citizens and partly a function of investment. In evaluating the economic capacity of the South-Eastern State and for that matter that of any other State or country, size must be balanced by ability to mobilise resources. A large population is only an asset if there are other natural resources to support it. Backed by other resources, the population must also be mobilisable in terms of economic effort. It is here that perhaps the main weakness lies, but our Government is well aware of the crucial role which manpower should play in the development of the resources of the country and has already done much in the field of training in various skills required by the development schemes now in progress.

Turning to the second point—reliance upon export of primary products and/or cash crops as the main source of capital formation, as the State already exports palm oil and kernels, rubber, piassava, cocoa, copra, timber, bananas, hides and skins, it has been argued by some prominent economists that the major problem facing many developing countries is to increase the income from export of a relatively narrow range of products, in a situation where traditional markets are decreasing. A factor of some importance is the relatively slow growth of demand for primary products in the industrialised countries. This may be due to fluctuations in demand in the world market or substitution of synthetics for primary products; for example, synthetic fibres have replaced cotton as an important raw material for textile industries. The first factor is the function of economic development. As consumers' incomes and expenditures rise beyond a certain point, their pattern of consumption shifts away from the more simply processed necessities of life to more highly processed products of the manufacturing industry. The second factor is to be found in the technological processes which tend to intensify this shift by introducing and publicising highly processed commodities to the consumer

Because of attempts to improve the income *per capita*, the South-Eastern State in co-operation with the Federation of Nigeria may desire to embark upon a programme of rapid economic development. In such a case, the demand for industrial imports might grow faster than the demand for exports to pay for them, with resultant strains on the foreign exchange earnings position. The instability in imports, particularly of investment goods, which derives from the inability to earn enough foreign exchange to finance these imports, can seriously inhibit long term planning and the exploitation of economic resources available for development. Under past regimes, each region had concentrated on exporting its own raw materials and importing its own selection of manufactured goods. So that when large scale industries were established, for instance a cement factory or brewery, they were designed to meet regional rather than national demands. Also, poor transport facilities were a major obstacle to inter-regional trade.

The civil war has broken down some of the existing regional barriers.

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## THE MACMILLAN ERA

*Pointing The Way*. Vol. V. Harold Macmillan. Macmillan. £4.50.

In reviewing the penultimate volume of these Memoirs, I am tempted to ask whether future historians will talk of a Macmillan era or a Macmillan style of government: did he stamp his personality on a period? True, the Conservatives were in power for eleven years and won three successive elections; true, Harold Macmillan held important posts in the two governments of Churchill and Eden. But neither Churchill nor Eden, for quite different reasons, were good peace-time Prime Ministers, nor did they reign for six successive years. Neither had the combination of talents to master home as well as external affairs; neither had the combination of intellectual curiosity and practical business experience vouchsafed to Macmillan.

Time and again, in Vol. V particularly, Macmillan switches from Foreign and Commonwealth affairs to strikes on the domestic front or difficulties at the Treasury, with a sure touch. One feels that he knows the economists and their dogmatic arguments; we had all this in the 'Thirties' and incidentally we are having it all over again in the 'Seventies'. Macmillan's early experience in the 'Thirties' as the Member for Stockton remains vividly in his memory and affected his attitude towards unemployment. I can remember him as a back-bencher 1929-1940 and as the author of the 'Next Five Years' (some of us had just established PEP in 1931); this was his seed-time.

The present volume covers the African visit and 'the Wind of Change' speech; the Khrushchev tantrums and the failure of the Summit Conference in Paris; vain efforts to get a tri-partite Conference going; misunderstandings with Adenauer and de Gaulle and good understandings with Eisenhower and the young Kennedy; the creation of E.F.T.A. and incidentally the promotion of Ted Heath and Alec Douglas-Home, who are carrying on today.

My own inclination is to say that future generations will talk of a Macmillan era; his failures as well as his successes are part of the age, whether on the European or domestic front. He was a good House of Commons man, a successful Housing Minister over 20 years ago; and who knows the future of his son? Above all, he was capable of sitting back and looking at events in a wide sweep. He writes: 'During the Christmas holidays (1960) and the comparatively calm days before the return of Parliament, I was led by that fatal itch for composition which is the outcome of a classical education to compose a memorandum on the "problems of 1961". This became known in the inner circles of Government as "The Grand Design".' How characteristic!

Volume V is a very personal book and without malice. It includes the story of General de Gaulle's visit to Birch Grove (the Macmillan Sussex home) which is at times quite funny; and also the gathering of the Macmillan clan, staff, secretaries and servants at the Guildhall when the Patriarch was given the Freedom of the City of London. It was mostly hard work (July 8, 1961: 'It is quite an effort to make an effort') but he liked it and made it seem human and worthwhile.

Perhaps there is too much quotation from speeches and diaries, too much unenlightened prose, but the book has an epic quality.

KENNETH LINDSAY

## SOVIET TERROR

*The Uses of Terror: The Soviet Secret Service 1917-1970.* Boris Levytsky. Translated by H. A. Piehler. Sidgwick & Jackson. £2.50.

*The Uses of Terror* is a more appropriate heading for Levytsky's book than the sub-title because it deals with the general history of the Soviet police and security apparatus right down to the Brezhnev doctrine and relates it to changes in the Party leadership and governing organs. This is an English version of a book first published in German in 1960. It has been updated to 1970.

Revolutionary regimes, in the process of consolidating one-party rule and in the immediate aftermath of revolution, generally find themselves impelled to establish the very instruments of state power characteristic of the *ancien regime*, a civil bureaucracy, an army, and a police system. Lenin believed that a police and security apparatus was indispensable not merely for suppressing criminality, disorder and banditry previously exploited by the revolutionaries, but above all to combat counter-revolution. With Party blessing Dzerzhinsky ran the first security 'special commission' in Petrograd in November, 1917. In December the Vecheka was set up to provide the regime as a whole with a security apparatus. In terms of the valuable typology suggested by Professor Chapman in *Police State* (1970), Dzerzhinsky would be classed as a 'moralist and humanist' police type rather than one of the artisans of revolutionary terror such as Yagoda, Yezhov or Beria. His zeal in terror stemmed from a fanatical ideology and a utopist desire to realise 'revolutionary justice' and to extirpate all counter-revolutionary plots, saboteurs and dangers. Levytsky makes clear how thorough he was in his efforts to annihilate, among others, the anarchist Black Guards, the White Guards, the Social-Revolutionaries and the National Centre. In 1917 the Cheka was not supposed to pass sentences or carry out executions; yet by September 1918 the Party had authorised Dzerzhinsky and his minions to take 'class enemies' to concentration camps, and to shoot out of hand all those involved in conspiracies and risings. Already (in the 1920s) the Cheka was perfecting the methods of its *agents provocateurs*, infiltration and forced confessions which were later to be refined by Yezhov and Beria.

The Stalinist terror is dealt with far more comprehensively in Robert Conquest's definitive study, and Levytsky's account of the Kirov murder and the terrible Yezhovshchina, though useful as a narrative, adds nothing new. Also Levytsky's sources are often somewhat insubstantial as a basis for his confident assertions; for example, Khrushchev's 20th Party Congress speech and rumours of rumours retailed by Giuseppe Boffa are hardly infallible sources for a contemporary historian to rely upon. He also omits much detail that is accessible; for example on the treatment of intellectuals and military officers in the great purges, which throws light on the police apparatus and its methods with victims.

On the other hand, the book is admirably clear in explaining the importance of Khrushchev's policy innovations in the 1950s, and the significance of his actions to restore the Party's authority over the police. It is certainly premature of him to assert, however, that 'the abolition of terrorism (by Stalin's successors) became necessary'. Have the present Soviet leaders admitted this in word or deed? It would be more accurate to say that they have simply refined and altered the *methods* of terror. What of the new forms of 'psychiatric treatment' imposed on many dissidents such as Medvedev and Grigorenko? What of the

harsh economic sanctions meted out to those merely 'suspected of working against the Party', not to mention the myriad evidences of cruder well tried methods of forced labour, blackmail and extortion of confessions? One hopeful factor, surely, not brought out in the book, is the success of dissidents in getting news and grievances, such as those contained in *Chronicle of Current Events,* out to the West, and in rousing world opinion.

It would be unfair to blame Boris Levytsky for the many errors and inconsistencies of the text. These regrettable slips apart, the translator and publishers have provided a very reasonably priced translation of an informative and excitingly written history of the Soviet police apparatus.

PAUL WILKINSON

## MUSICAL POLITICS

*Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia 1917-1970.* Boris Schwarz. Barrie and Jenkins. £6.00.

Unquestionably this is a book which needed to be written, and, in Dr. Schwarz, it has found an ideal author. For over thirty years Professor of Music at Queen's College, New York City University, Boris Schwarz has spent his life studying Russian music, and has visited the Soviet Union at length in 1930, 1960, and again in 1962. Particularly in his post-war visits he appears to have been allowed remarkable freedom in his meetings and discussions with Soviet composers, musicologists and performers, and thus writes authoritatively. What is less expected is the sympathy of his approach, and the understanding he shows both for the demands and uncertainties of the regime as well as the necessary liberty of its musicians.

Dr. Schwarz takes the 1917 Revolution as his starting point, and thence traces chronologically the course of Soviet music. Although many musicians left after the Revolution, it is interesting to see that the early Leninist regime displayed a remarkable tolerance of the performing arts, and especially of music. Lenin indeed questioned priorities, but not expression, and it was not until the notorious Party Resolution of 1932 *On the Reconstruction of Literary and Artistic Organisations* that Soviet composers truly began to feel political stifling of their creative urge. Shostakovitch was the leading composer to feel its effect, resulting as it did in the denigration of his opera Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk, and his own subsequent withdrawal of his fourth symphony, and then in 1936 the publication of his fifth as a 'reply to just criticism'. Prokofiev having departed after the Revolution, and only returning in 1933, remained less affected then, as he did thereafter.

Indeed Shostakovitch, not unexpectedly, is very much the protagonist of this book, being deeply affected by the 1932 Resolution, the Zhdanov era from 1946 until the death of Stalin, the subsequent cultural honeymoon under Khrushchev, and then the difficulties that followed that in 1963. Yet, as the author observes, 'had Shostakovitch lived abroad his talent would have developed differently. But no one can say whether it would have been more significant'. Moreover, it is interesting to note that for all his 'official' contempt for *formalism* and suspicion of dodecaphonic music, Shostakovitch in his new 15th Symphony, first performed early this year, can finally be heard to be experimenting with it.

There is little question that the Soviet regime needs easily comprehensible music. Music is performed on a scale undreamed of here, and those countless *socio-economic* operas and cantatas Dr. Schwarz describes so graphically, fulfil

as real a need as did Shostakovitch's *Leningrad* Symphony during the rigours of the last war. If music of that kind is required, then it is hardly surprising that 'Soviet composers still write music for people to play and to enjoy; the latest Western affectation—contempt for the listener—is as alien to them as the computerised approach to musical composition'. Thus the reason they admire Benjamin Britten so much is that 'his unquestionable newness is not dogmatic'.

Alongside his detailed analysis of political concern with musical development, the author presents a fascinating picture of the training of a Soviet musician, whether composer, writer, or performer. Bringing his narrative up to 1970, he leaves one with the hope, and to some extent a confident one, that whatever the Soviets may continue to do to constrain the written word, music has at last pushed through the cultural barrier, and that the contribution made by Russian composers and performers to Western musical life will continue to expand.

This book should be essential reading as much for the student of Soviet history as for the music lover. For either category it is a readable and well documented work, which is as engrossing as it is useful.

DAVID FINGLETON

## NELSON IN BATTLE

*Nelson the Commander*. Geoffrey Bennett. Batsford. £3.90.

Nelson possessed the unusual combination of imagination and a gift for administration; he was not satisfied to defeat the enemy, he aimed at annihilation. To this end he devised his own novel tactics instead of conforming to the *Fighting Instructions* laid down by the Admiralty. At that time a naval battle was expected to be fought between fleets in line ahead on parallel courses; there were however notable instances in the eighteenth century when commanders ignored these instructions as when Rodney broke through the enemy line at the Battle of the Saints and Duncan divided the Dutch fleet at Camperdown. So Nelson was in good company when at Trafalgar he divided the combined French and Spanish fleets into three parts, concentrating on their rear and centre.

A good commander must have faith and inspiration, and prepare for every contingency, which is not easy at sea because of those two uncompromising agents, wind and wave; over these he has no control and must be ready with the necessary resources. Having taken all practical measures on the external plane he must leave the outcome to destiny which means incurring risks. Nelson's gamble came off at St. Vincent, Aboukir Bay, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar; it came to grief at Santa Cruz and Boulogne, but these two failures do not detract from that vital quality which enabled him to achieve more than any other naval commander has before or since.

Nelson had the moral courage to disobey orders if he thought that the results would justify it, as he did at Cape St. Vincent by turning his ship out of the line in order to prevent the Spaniards escaping. Jervis who had the highest admiration for Nelson's exceptional understanding of naval strategy realised what was taking place and reacted to Nelson's initiative, thus converting what would have been a marginal victory into a decisive one. Similarly he showed his moral courage in rejecting at Copenhagen Hyde Parker's order to Leave off Action on the grounds that he was in the best position to judge the progress of the battle. The outcome was near annihilation of the Danish fleet and the recall of Hyde Parker, Nelson being left in command of the Baltic fleet.

This latest book on Nelson is an attempt to assess his stature as a naval commander, not a biography of the man. The author served for 35 years in the Royal Navy, and his analyses of Nelson's great triumphs are lucid, profoundly searching, and of indispensable value to all interested in naval strategy and tactics. There is an admirable chapter on the state of the Royal Navy in the years 1793 to 1805 with detailed information about the ships, weapons, command and control, all directed at assisting the reader to understand Nelson's problems and how he dealt with them. Captain Bennett is at pains to discover the fundamental causes of Nelson's greatness as a naval commander which, he avers, is to be measured by more than the number and extent of his victories. The ingredients of a naval or military commander are listed as ambition, leadership, a knowledge of strategy and tactics, and diplomacy, but these alone do not confer on him true greatness. He must have star quality, an uncommon gift that is normally associated with eminent members of the stage, screen, the world of music and art. Napoleon had it and so did Nelson.

The author goes into some detail over the relationship between Nelson and Lady Hamilton during the years 1798 to 1800 when Nelson's reputation became somewhat tarnished by certain incidents. On his return to England however, whilst still retaining his affection for Emma, he displayed his customary eagerness to be back in action, and was vouchsafed five more years in which to win the battle of Copenhagen, carry out the amazing blockade of Toulon, and score his crowning success at Trafalgar.

The spirit of Nelson did not die with the end of the Napoleonic War, and there are many naval commanders to prove it. Beatty, Tyrwhitt, Keyes, and Cowan typified it in certain engagements during World War I, and the Nelson Touch was also in evidence in World War II, inspiring men like Sir John Tovey who sank the *Bismarck*, Sir Bruce Fraser who dealt with the *Scharnhorst*, Sir Philip Vian of *Cossack* fame, and many others.

S. F. WOOLLEY

## CECIL ROBERTS' PEAK YEARS

*Sunshine and Shadow*. Cecil Roberts. Hodder & Stoughton. £4.25.

This fourth volume of Cecil Roberts' autobiography, published on his 80th birthday, covers the years 1930 to 1946. And what years they were for him! He had idyllic Pilgrim Cottage near Henley—bought for £750—and an ideal housekeeper. He was producing best-sellers at the peak of his powers, making hosts of influential friends, travelling in quest of new themes and contacts, making money from his writing—£3,786 in 1932, £4,300 in 1934—and saving more than half of it as alms for oblivion. As inimitable host and guest he lived a crowded social life when not labouring in his study. When war came he embarked on a pre-arranged U.S.A. lecture tour, making 500 speeches in 44 States.

The sunshine was ambient; the shadow immanent, too. Occasional ills from overwork. The death of the lovely Marchesa Malachrida, who drove over a bank immediately after leaving Pilgrim Cottage, which he had lent her for enchanted weeks while he was abroad. The death at 22, from a grenade mishap in North Africa, of the painter's son Lucian whom he had met in Venice, virtually adopted and put to a good school in England. The premature loss of other dear friends who had become part of his life. The rise of Nazi power in Germany which he witnessed at firsthand; its menace to the future, which he foresaw that he might forewarn, as Churchill forewarned.

In his wartime tour of the States at his own expense he put over the British case within the no-propaganda limits of the Neutrality Act, often against the opposition of Isolationists and hostile foreign-origin elements. He is understandably bitter about the shabby treatment accorded him by Treasury officials at home who would not sanction a daily expense allowance out of his own blocked money or even partly reimburse him at the end. Over this part of the book the shadow dominates, though it is lightened by vivid personal encounters with leading Americans.

As an autobiographer Roberts is magically empathic. He takes you inside his Pilgrim Cottage, so that you live there by proxy, enjoying its delights. He takes you with him on his travels, imparting the essential flavour of strange places. In mentioning his books he discloses how they were conceived, how written, how received, maybe what they sold and earned.

I was prepared to fault him for packing his 417 pages with too many famous names—indexed in a further 24 pages—but could not honestly do so, for he is no mere name-dropper; invariably he tells something significant about them or appends a revealing story. Thus, on a visit to D'Annunzio in his Lake Garda villa: 'There was a small temple lined with black velvet. On a plinth within he uncovered a pair of beautifully sculptured hands. They were Duse's. He contemplated them in silence and then veiled them.' The range of Roberts' friendships is prodigious. One can only exclaim at the end: *What an amazing life.*

TREVOR ALLEN

# SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES

**Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939. Greece and Turkey, Sept. 3, 1922-July 24, 1923** (H.M. Stationery Office, £11.75). Dr. Douglas Dakin has edited Volume XVIII in the First Series of official documents which cover the period 1919 to 1925. In preparing this new volume, Dr. Dakin has had as usual 'unrestricted access to all papers in the Foreign Office archives', and in a painstaking piece of research and selection he has included 683 documents, together with three appendices. Documentation starts with the Chanak crisis, the Armistice of Mudania in October and events leading to the opening of the Lausanne Conference on November 20, 1922. Thereafter the documents are primarily concerned with the first phase of the Conference until its breakdown in February, the negotiations for its resumption and the final phase from April 23 until the signing of the peace treaty with Turkey on July 24, 1923. The volume features the long despatches of Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary, during the first phase of the Conference, and subsequently letters from Sir Horace Rumbold, the chief British representative in the second half of the negotiations. It was a rearguard operation without French support on many issues and in the face of a resurgent nationalist Turkey, and a Britain determined not to resume hostilities. In a Memorandum on the Freedom of the Straits, Harold Nicolson wrote in November, 1922, that 'Turkey has seldom found herself in so strong a position, both diplomatic and military, as she enjoys today'. The British General Staff in another Memorandum, dated October 19, 1922, argued for a strong friendly Turkey: and this was the Turkish objective. Dr. Dakin takes the view that in spite of the

published documentation on the Near East for the years 1919-1923, 'it may be some time before historians can see this period in its true perspective'.

**Studies in Comparative Politics** (Macmillan, 60p each volume). Three short volumes are now published in this series edited by Professor S. E. Finer and Professor Ghita Ionescu, both of Manchester University. Each attempts to explain and define in modern terms political conceptions. In *Comparative Constitutions* Leslie Wolf-Philips argues that the written constitution is subject to much wider classification than Bryce and later K. C. Wheare used. Indeed, Mr. Wolf-Philips sets out thirteen 'classificatory elements' into which the study of constitutions should be divided. In *Political Development* Professor C. H. Dodd is concerned with patterns of political change in the capitalist and communist worlds, and in particular their impact, if any, upon the nature of and political patterns in the third-world states. It is a fascinating though inconclusive study, especially when the great variety of methods of government in the neutral countries are appreciated. *Political Culture* is an obvious subject for analysis by Dennis Kavanagh, although it is really too vast in comprehension for such a brief volume. There is such variety of background and motivating forces in the formation of political attitudes that one doubts whether any really useful generalisations are forthcoming. Nonetheless his book is worth reading.

**International Who's Who in Poetry 1972-73** (I.W.W.P., Artillery Mansions, London, S.W.1, £12.50). This massive third edition has been edited by Dr. Ernest Kay and includes more than 3,000 entries. These cover particulars of the poet's career, positions and memberships held, names of his major works, and full addresses. Pen names are cross referenced. There are a number of useful appendices, including particulars of poet laureates in American States, poetry societies and organisations in the United Kingdom, the United States and elsewhere. Over fifty pages are devoted to 'poetry on record and tape', classified rather awkwardly in different ways. This is not exhaustive but covers a wide field. There is also 'an international directory of little magazines' compiled by Ellen Fisher and including 900 periodicals publishing poetry. It is a volume which the reference library should find valuable.

**The Noble Sanctuary** (Longman, £2). Those who have visited old Jerusalem in recent years will vouch for the excellence of the thirty-six colour photographs published in this 'Portrait of a Holy Place in Jerusalem' by Alistair Duncan. They cover the whole Al Haram al-Sharif, with of course most prominently the Dome of the Rock and the nearby Aqsa Mosque. Post-war restoration has enhanced their beauty; and nothing perhaps is more striking than the great dome shimmering in gold. The effect has been superbly produced in the photographs. Perhaps the only criticism of the interior photography is that the colours sometimes are over rich and too deep for reality. The photographs are accompanied by a short history of these buildings against a general historical background of Palestine history, going back before the building of the Dome of the Rock by Caliph 'Abd al-Malik in 691. Mr. Duncan is greatly indebted to Aref al-Aref, the distinguished authority of this Holy Place of Islam. Perhaps inevitably there is an anti-Zionist slant in the account of contemporary events. The visitor to this area will find the volume of great assistance.

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